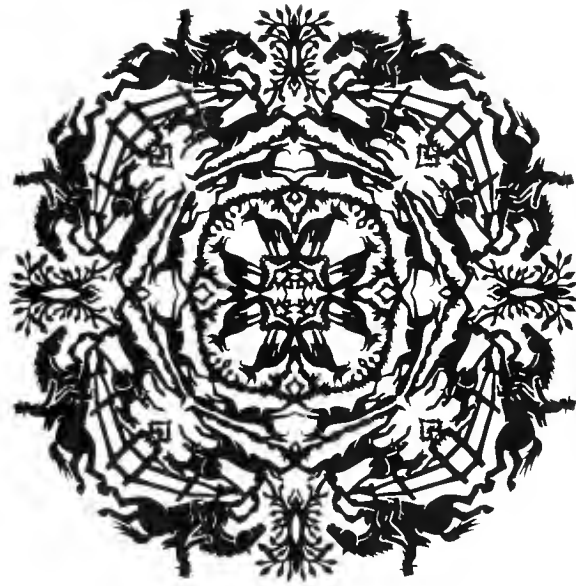


ECLIPSE & O'KELLY

ECLIPSE
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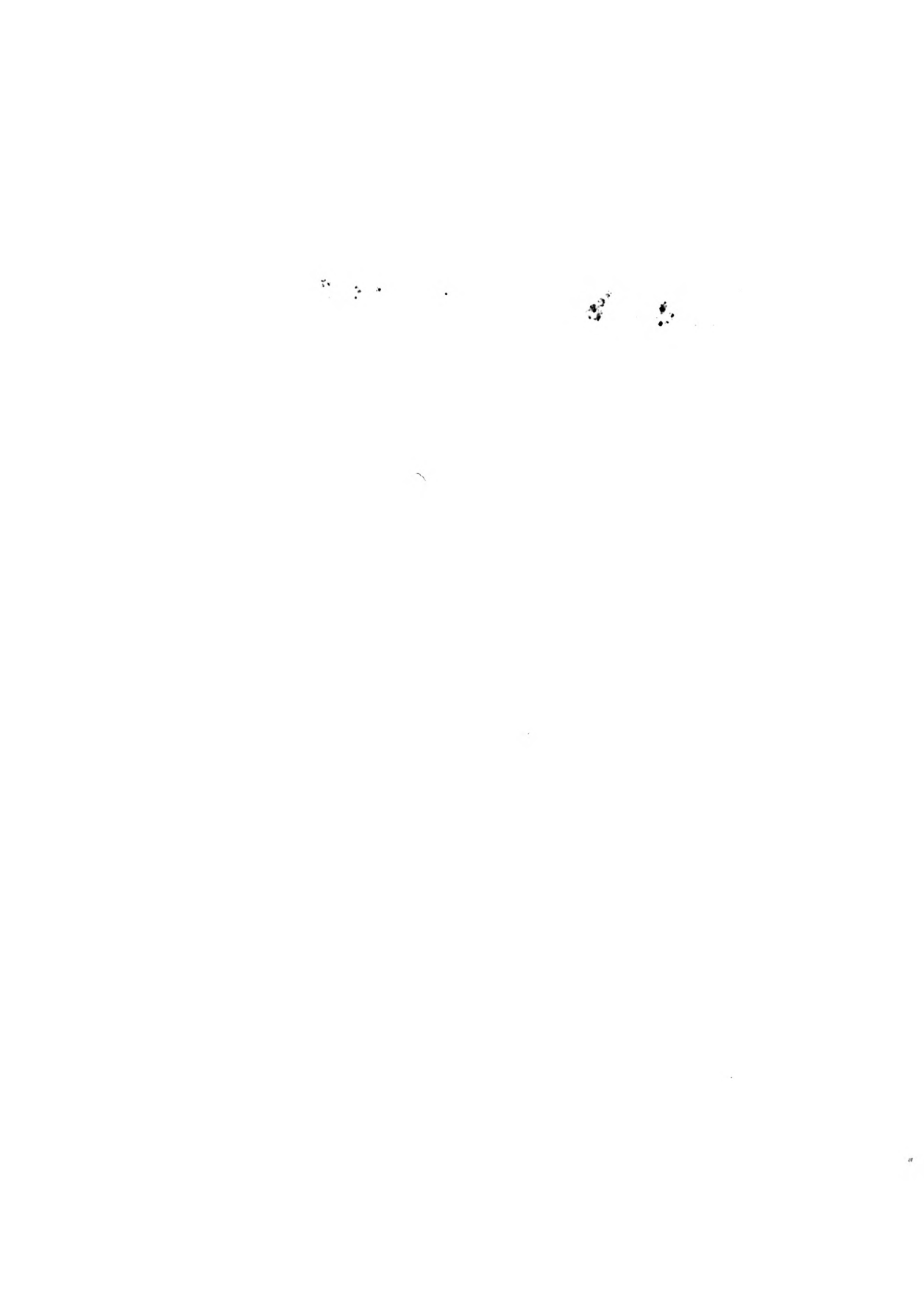
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THEODORE ANDREA COOK



JOHN A. SEAVERNS

Geo. S. Maudslayi



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Dennis Kelly
restored from the traces by Luchie in the possession of
Major Philip Langdale of Houghton, Yorks. 20

ECLIPSE & O'KELLY

BEING A COMPLETE HISTORY SO FAR AS IS KNOWN OF THAT CELEBRATED ENGLISH THOROUGHbred ECLIPSE (1764-1789) OF HIS BREEDER THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND & OF HIS SUBSEQUENT OWNERS WILLIAM WILDMAN DENNIS O'KELLY & ANDREW O'KELLY NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME SET FORTH FROM THE ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES & FAMILY MEMORANDA

By THEODORE ANDREA COOK M.A. F.S.A.
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH TURF" ETC. ETC

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS PEDIGREES AND
REPRODUCTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

NEW YORK : E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY

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TO
GENERAL
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
PRINCE CHRISTIAN OF SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN,
K.G., G.C.V.O., P.C.,
AIDE-DE-CAMP TO THE KING
AND
RANGER OF WINDSOR GREAT PARK,
AS THE RESPECTFUL TRIBUTE OF A SINCERE GRATITUDE
TO ONE WHO LIVES WHERE LIVED THE BREEDER
OF SPILETTA'S FOAL, AND GUARDS THE
PASTURES WHERE THE SON
OF MARSKE WAS BORN
THIS HISTORY OF ECLIPSE
IS DEDICATED
BY
THE WRITER

PREFACE

*Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei? Quis mihi det ut
exarentur in libro?*

MY readers may be glad to learn that the circumstances of the race in which Hiero, King of Syracuse, won the Olympic crown with his good horse, *Phrenicus*, are not sufficiently well known to enable me to enlarge on the antiquity and development of horse-racing. But the description of the owner is worth recalling. "August he was in his converse with citizens, and he upheld the breed of horses after the Hellenic wont." No other poet save an Englishman could have so written; and of no other king save of an English king, could Pindar's ode hold true. England has yet another parallel with ancient Greece. It was a matter of vital importance to Alcibiades, over two thousand years ago, to win that Olympic crown himself. He entered seven, and almost equalled the record of M. Edmond Blanc by owning the winner and the second. An English Prime Minister has done even better; for Lord Rosebery has won the Derby thrice, and the origin of that historic race has never been more tersely described than in Lord Rosebery's words:

"In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a roustering party at a country house founded two races, and named them gratefully after their host and his house—the 'Derby' and the 'Oaks.' Seldom has a carouse had a more permanent effect."

It is chiefly with this eighteenth-century beginning of England's classic races that these pages will deal; for it was Dennis O'Kelly's son of *Eclipse* who won the second Derby, and out of the 127 races, including the first, *Eclipse's* descendants have furnished eighty-two winners

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up to 1906. No complete study of this remarkable horse's career has ever been published, and since the valuable essay of Vial de Saint Bel in 1791, no monograph has been devoted to his history. He was sold as a yearling for less than a hundred guineas. Of his direct descendants, a yearling filly has lately been sold at 10,000 guineas; a racehorse in training has fetched £39,375 at public auction; two sires have each produced stock winning over half a million sterling; and other horses tracing to him in direct male line have won the "Triple Crown" nine times out of ten, and hold the record for the pace at which the Two Thousand, the Derby, and the Leger have been won. These are hard facts, and they explain why it is worth while to pay so much attention to a single animal; for there is probably no other in the history of the world which has been the prime cause of so much money changing hands.

But let us not be sordid. If our legislators go on as they have begun, there will probably be no Derby or St. Leger for our descendants to admire, and no more lists of winning stallions for our breeders to contemplate with envious eyes. Newmarket, Ascot, and Epsom will be abolished, with the Stock Exchange, as the haunts of the immoral gambler, and betting will be adding fresh offences to the calendar in directions hitherto unknown. While I hasten, therefore, to use the statistics that exist before they pass into oblivion or are added to the growing stock of information that is subject to criminal proceedings, I cannot refrain from emphasising that there are wider themes in such an essay as I have attempted than merely the money made by other people out of racing. *Eclipse's* breeder, the Duke of Cumberland, and the two O'Kellys, uncle and nephew, who owned him, are all three most interesting people, and each in an entirely different way. The mention of their names leads me to an apology which should have been made with my first line.

This book was written and ready for the printer some eight months before it was offered to an indulgent public.

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To my readers and my publisher alike I owe an explanation of this apparently inexcusable delay, and I confidently believe that both will pardon me. I had just completed a study based on what seemed to be all the available evidence, when from Major Philip Langdale in Yorkshire, and from Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde in Ireland, I received a large number of the papers and memoranda connected with the career of Dennis and Andrew O'Kelly on the Turf. They revealed Andrew to me for the first time; and I think they will materially change the verdict hitherto passed on Dennis. Apart from that, they present details of racing and social life from 1770 to 1820 which I have never seen elsewhere; and by the kindness of their owners I have reproduced several of the more important manuscripts in facsimile. To take one example of their value: this is the first book that will reproduce both the portraits and the handwriting of Dennis O'Kelly and his heir. Apart from the Stud-book of Cuthbert Routh of Yorkshire, (1718-1752), discovered by Mr. J. S. Fletcher, I know no older memoranda of a racing stud which have been published.

It will be as well to say, here and at once, what has to be said about the rest of the illustrations. The dedication of this essay to H.R.H. Prince Christian is no mere formal recognition of the interest so appropriately taken in its subject by the tenant of the house where *Eclipse's* breeder lived, and by the guardian of the historic paddocks where *Eclipse* was born. It is my only way of expressing my sincere thanks for valuable help given by His Royal Highness in many essential details of this work, and for the use of several pictures now in Cumberland Lodge which are reproduced in these pages. To Sir Walter Gilbey, for whose portrait I am indebted to the skill and kindness of Mr. William Nicholson, I owe the possibility of printing here the two finest portraits of *Eclipse* ever painted by Stubbs. Mr. Hargreaves, of Pendleton, sent me the painting of *Spiletta*, and from Mr. Parsons, of Alsager in Cheshire, I received the portrait of *Waxy*. I believe

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neither of these latter have been seen before. To Lady Dorchester I owe a fine portrait of the horse by Sartorius. Mr. J. Jeffery sent me the map of Epsom showing Clay Hill, O'Kelly's racing stables. Mr. Max Beerbohm very kindly gave me his delightful drawing of the Prince Regent and Beau Brummell. Mr. Julius Sampson was good enough to let me reproduce his paintings of *Gimcrack* and *Eclipse* by Sartorius. I have to thank the Stewards of the Jockey Club for kindly allowing Mr. Hailey to photograph their *Eclipse* foot for me. Mr. Ducros, the present occupant of Cannons, permitted me to photograph O'Kelly's house. Messrs. Virtue & Co., the publishers of my "History of the English Turf," have generously allowed me to reproduce some pictures that originally appeared in that publication. To Mr. Ridewood, of the British Museum of Natural History, I owe my hearty thanks for most kindly superintending Mr. W. E. Gray's admirable photographs of *Eclipse's* bones, and to the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in Red Lion Square I must express my sincere gratitude for allowing their precious relics to be photographed.

The proper illustration of a monograph on *Eclipse* is a very difficult problem ; and, as will have been realised, it has only been made possible at all by the kindness of many sympathetic correspondents. Something of what is involved may be imagined from the fact that Lord Rosebery possesses the following paintings of *Eclipse* in his wonderful collection at The Durdans :

- (1) By F. Sartorius 1770, a picture very like the Stubbs type, but without the jockey and a different background.
- (2) By Stubbs, showing the horse cantering at exercise in his clothing, not very successful.
- (3) The original of the well-known engraving by Stubbs, of the horse standing saddled near a stable.
- (4) A sketch for this original, showing only the jockey.
- (5) A somewhat impossible Sartorius, depicting the animal "at full stretch," with his jockey.

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- (6) A better Sartorius, in repose.
- (7) Another by J. N. Sartorius.
- (8) *Eclipse* beating *Corsican* at Newmarket on October 3, 1770, by F. Sartorius.

The permission to examine this collection some years ago has been of the greatest value to me now. The portrait (3) by Stubbs (39 by 49 ins.) was painted in 1770, and shows a chestnut with a white face and the off hindleg white from just below the hock to the fetlock joint. All the hoofs are brown. The short bang tail is chestnut brown, and the mane is of the same colour, plaited with lead. Saddled with a blue saddle-cloth, the animal faces to the right and is held by a groom, close to whom stands a jockey with a whip, looking at the horse ready to mount, and speaking to the groom. The jockey wears white buckskin breeches, white stockings, black highlow boots, scarlet jacket and white cuffs, a white neckcloth, and a soft black cap with a soft brim all round. The groom has a long blue coat with red collar and cuffs, white breeches, black stockings, buckle shoes, and a soft black felt hat. The background is a flat landscape with low trees in the distance, grassy foreground, a blue sky with big clouds, and the light from the left. The figures are near a square building of grey stone, like a stable with a high-pitched roof. I have described this at length because it is probably the original done for Dennis O'Kelly from which the prints most commonly known were made.

The most valuable portrait of *Eclipse* in existence is in the possession of Sir Walter Gilbey, at Elsenham Hall. It is the careful measured study done from life by Stubbs, and probably the only one so painted. It faces to the right with the light from the left, and forms the type from which all the best portraits of *Eclipse* by Stubbs and other artists were taken. I have reproduced it in my seventh chapter, and in my fifth is Sir Walter's other Stubbs, showing Mr. Wildman and his sons with the horse. The first was bought from the collection of Mr. Munro of Novar, and the second was sold at Christie's by a descendant of Mr. Wildman.

PREFACE

George Stubbs, R.A., was born in 1724 and died in 1806, being almost exactly a contemporary of Reynolds and Gainsborough. His father was a leather-dresser; but the boy soon began to study painting at Wigan, Leeds, and York; and afterwards worked at anatomy and engraving. In 1754 he visited Rome, but returned to England and began "The Anatomy of the Horse," a work of marvellous industry and skill, in Lincolnshire. This was published in 1766, when Stubbs was living at 24, Somerset Street, Portman Square. He did several hunting pictures for the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, and for Lord Grosvenor at Eaton. In 1771 he tried enamel painting at Cosway's suggestion, and in 1780 he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, but the catalogues do not print the full R.A. till 1805. After 1790 he did sixteen portraits of celebrated racers for the Turf Gallery in Conduit Street, from the *Godolphin Arabian* onwards; and we know that before 1787 Dennis O'Kelly had commissioned him to paint *Marske*, *Eclipse*, and others of his stud for Cannons. When he was 79 he was able to walk the sixteen miles from Somerset Street to Lord Clarendon's house in Hertfordshire, and he died quite suddenly, alone in his arm-chair, on July 10, 1806. He was evidently a little embittered by the neglect of the public in his last years, and justifiably so, for he was the best animal painter of his day, and his skill was only equalled by his industry.

Mr. Frink, of Thurlow, has kindly informed me of a fine engraving, by Hunt, of *Eclipse*, in his possession from the painting by F. Sartorius in 1770. The horse is standing without a saddle, and a groom stands by holding his reins. Another groom appears to be brushing him down ready for a race. The horse faces to the left.

Captain Price, of Paignton, possesses a coloured engraving by Hunt (published in 1839) from a painting by Stubbs. He has been kind enough to describe it for me. The chestnut is standing, saddled, with head to the right, and a white surcingle over a very dark green saddlecloth bordered with gold. A groom stands at his head holding a rein in

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each hand ; a snaffle bridle and single rein, twisted. He wears a red frock coat, light-coloured knee breeches, black silk stockings, buckle shoes, and a black velvet cap. The coat is embroidered with gold rings round the collar and cuffs, and the man wears short white frills round his wrists. The background shows the angle of a stable.

M. Jean Stern, the owner of *Canard*, has a charming painting by Sartorius of *Eclipse* galloping over the Beacon course, in an attitude that may be anatomically impossible, but gives an excellent idea of the horse's characteristic action and of his bright chestnut colour. Oakley is riding him in O'Kelly's colours, red coat and black cap.

Mr. Tattersall's albums contain what is probably the best collection of racing prints in the world, for they are nearly all proofs in first-rate condition, and have been well cared for ever since they were first published. It has been of the greatest use to me in selecting the best types of various pictures, and I am most grateful to its owner.

A large number of correspondents, who had heard of the preparation of this work, have very kindly come forward with help and information of very various kinds, and if I do not name them all, I am none the less grateful for every bit of such assistance. Mrs. Haig-Brown, widow of the late Master of the Charterhouse, lent me the lithograph of Cannons and sent her memories of the grave of *Eclipse's* remains. Mr. John D. Cradock, of Quorn, wrote concerning one of the horse's hoofs. Mrs. E. J. Roper wrote from Jamaica concerning another. When I had almost despaired of the fourth, the King most kindly informed me through Lord Knollys that it was in His Majesty's possession.

Lord Howard de Walden sent me *Zinfandel's* measurements. Mr. Arthur Langridge gave me most interesting information about his great grandfather, the celebrated Bracy Clark. Mr. R. O. Burnett told me all he knew of his ancestor, Mr. Wildman. Mr. George Elkington wrote me details about the Cumberland Farm at Plaistow. Mrs. D'Arcy Hutton gave me various facts about *Marske*. Details of different pictures and engravings were sent in by

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Mr. Arkell of Fairford, Mr. Martin of Londonderry, Mr. Wintringham Stable of Wanstead, and the landlord of the "Eclipse" at Epsom. Books were either lent or described by Mr. Rixon of Cookham, Mr. Gregg of Barnes, Mr. Thomas Johnson of Dudley, and Mr. F. Styan of Creaton. Mr. J. E. Vincent of Drayton, Berkshire, wrote concerning *Eclipse's* birthplace, which he believes (in "Highways and Byways of Berkshire," p. 204) to have been at Kate's Gore in East Ilsley, apparently because it is recorded that here "were large stables built by William, Duke of Cumberland, for his running horses." This, however, I have shown (in my fifth chapter) to be improbable, on the facts as we know them. Nor is there any greater likelihood that *Shakespeare* was the famous chestnut's sire. Mr. Charles Newton Robinson and Mr. Laurence Binyon gave me valuable information about some of my illustrations. The Rev. William Hunt kindly answered many questions concerning details of Georgian history with which I was unfamiliar. Mr. Arthur W. Coaten, of "Horse and Hound," has not only compiled several very interesting and novel tables for my Appendix, but has taken the trouble to correct my proofs in the matter of those racing details of which he is a master. To Professor E. Ray Lankester, of the British Museum of Natural History, and to Mr. Lydekker I am greatly indebted for most valuable assistance and advice; the facts about thoroughbred skulls, and the development of the race, given me by Mr. Lydekker, being of special interest to every one who cares for breeding.

The Museum in the Cromwell Road has now an exhibit of horses which deserves the careful attention of every racing man. Here you may inspect the bronze statuette of *Zinfandel* beside the plaster model of *Persimmon*, and see how like is son to sire. Here are the skulls of *Stockwell*, *Bend Or*, *Donovan*, *Royal Hampton*, and *Ormonde*. Here you may wonder at the clumsy skeleton of the extinct *Hippidium neogæum*, 12½ hands high, with a 23-inch skull, and compare it with the English cross-bred, close beside, of

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14½ hands and a 23-inch head. Here are the four-toed *Protorohippus*, and the three-toed *Mesohippus*, and *Hipparion gracilis* (from the Pliocene tertiary strata of Attica) with the cavity for the face-gland on which Mr. Lydekker has based such interesting arguments on the derivation of our thoroughbreds. Here too are exquisitely modelled and accurately reduced statuettes of various breeds of horses, together with diagrams and exhibits of equine teeth and bones so plainly labelled that even a visitor with such scanty skill of science as myself may understand them. This is an admirable, nay, an unequalled beginning. It compels me to ask for more.

When will the young biologist arise, with time enough to spare, and sympathy enough with the large majority of his fellow-countrymen who may be reasonably intelligent and yet know no biology, to put his science at the service of his country, and take a few measurements of bones and living animals on a method every one can accept and understand. No such opportunity as the thoroughbred horse exists in the kingdom of nature except in the case of the Brocklesby Kennel; but the racehorse affords better data than the foxhound, for his breeding has been kept before 1746, the date of the earliest Brocklesby list; and more details are known about the performances and conformation of his ancestors than is the case with any other living creature, man included. Yet the simplest facts about horses remain to be explained. Was Admiral Rous right, for instance, in saying that thoroughbreds averaged 13 hands 3 inches in 1700, and have increased an inch every twenty-five years for a century and a half? If so, when will they stop? Is *Ambergris* (by *Hermit* out of *Frangi-pani*) the limit, at 18 hands, or are we to get bigger giants still? Does height have any effect on pace? *Prince Charlie* (17 hands) was the best miler ever seen; was he too big for longer distances? Are big horses more likely to "roar" than little ones? Would *Abd el Kader* (15 hands) who won in 1850, have any chance in the next Grand National? Before the Lords' Committee in 1873 the Earl

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of Stradbroke said there were "not four horses in England now that could run over the Beacon course (4 m. 1 fur. 138 yds.) within eight minutes, which in my younger days I used to see continually done." Granted that the Earl was correct in his times (which I doubt), has the increasing height of racehorses affected their endurance? It would seem not, for the 4 miles 856 yards was run by *Ascetic's Silver* in 9.34 $\frac{2}{5}$, with thirty fences, in the Grand National of 1906. Has it then affected their speed? If so, how is it that *Pretty Polly* holds the record for the Derby course with 2.33 $\frac{4}{5}$ for the Coronation Cup of 1905? Think what a field that young biologist has got!

Then as to colour, why has the Derby been only once won by a black: Sir Charles Bunbury's *Smolensko*, who was one of nine black sons of *Wowski*? Would it be true to say that: (1) greys and blacks have good stamina; (2) chestnuts have speed and excitability; (3) bays and browns being considered intermediate, bays have more characteristics of the chestnut, and browns of the blacks and greys? Have blacks and greys decreased because we have given up four-mile racing, and chestnuts increased because we prefer short distances? Has the original black of the Shire Horse faded out because he is no longer used for the battlefield and the armoured knight, where endurance was his value, and because he needs more energy and action in his new pursuits? Are hackneys nearly all chestnuts because the qualities kindred to excitability and speed are wanted by the hackney-breeder? It would be possible to go on asking a great many more questions; but the need of the young gentleman I suggested is clear enough. Let him remember Stubbs and Vial de Saint Bel, and go ahead. His chances are much greater and his knowledge incomparably keener than were theirs. Let him begin by trying to do for us about half what either of them did for their own generation, and his future is assured.

The value of the horse to any nation is a subject so threadbare nowadays that we have ourselves long ago forgotten all about it. Having produced the best horse in the

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world, we do a very great deal less than any other nation in encouraging our countrymen to breed him. The disastrous shortage of horses in the South African Campaign was driven home so hard in 1900 that we have now apparently decided that all wars in which we engage in the future must be horseless wars. That is just as well, considering the attacks that have lately been made upon the fountain of all good stock in this country: I mean, of course, the Turf. The Government recognises the value of the Turf in this respect by asking for the racing records of animals entered for the King's Premiums; and then proceeds to distribute the munificent sum of £150 each to only twenty-eight stallions who are selected at the Islington Show to breed good stock in England, Scotland, and Wales. No special department of officials bothers about the matter at all, after the Royal Commission have done what they can with their £4200. Nobody hindered the exportation of our best brood mares to the world at large at the moment we were mounting our cavalry on Argentines and buying our carriage-horses from America and France. Private initiative has, indeed, founded a Brood Mare Society; but no farmer can afford to breed remounts at the prices suggested by the authorities. Finally, it seems that the Turf itself, the last stronghold of good blood bred and tested regardless of expense, is to be destroyed without any commensurate benefits being promised for the evils done. France gets a good deal more than half a million sterling out of French racing for the encouragement of French horse-breeding. Even little New Zealand has £80,000 to apply to the same admirable ends. It is a curious position, and no one who has just completed an essay concerned with English thoroughbreds can avoid considering it. But it is characteristic of our usual methods, and this is no place to offer any remedies. I would only suggest that the authorities seem wantonly to be throwing away the possibilities of an enthusiasm and an affection for horse-flesh which no other country has had in equal measure with our own since ancient Hellas.

The letters that have reached me from all over the Eng-

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lish-speaking world are a proof that this spirit is as strong as ever. No petrol-motor and no flying-machine can ever kill it. From Canada an unknown friend writes as vividly as if he had seen *Eclipse* himself. "There was a noticeable kink in his tail," he says, "as some evidence of the base blood that ran in a dozen lines of his pedigree. He had such pace that he could run his opponents off their legs and go on alone. But he was a bit flash, depend on that. . . . I am an old man, and this is a subject to which I once gave unlimited attention. Saint Bel's print of him going from you is just like any *Orlando* two-year-old going to the post in the fifties. I let Lord Rosebery have my print of *Pot8os*, and I have not been able to get one since. He was his best son, I used to hear from people who knew, quite independent of his being sire of *Waxy*. That little Racing Calendar, when *Eclipse* was running with 12st. up as a five-year-old for King's Plates, you no doubt have. It looked like a number of the 'British Essayists,' brown calf with a red label; and the cockfights were interspersed with the races. O Lord! I should like to have a talk with you."

I only hope so keen a sportsman will do me the kindness of writing again.

From Mr. W. Osborn Boyes of Barnet, Herts, I have received much interesting information, and an authenticated portion of *Eclipse's* skin.

A word as to the arrangement of this book, and I have done with these preliminaries.

The first two chapters deal with the origin of the English thoroughbred and the pure Arabian. I then pass to *Eclipse's* breeder, the Duke of Cumberland, and his racing friends; which leads me to the description of *Eclipse's* two seasons on the Turf. I have taken the two O'Kellys, uncle and nephew, separately; and as *Eclipse* died just after Dennis O'Kelly, the sketch of Saint Bel's analysis of the horse's measurements comes in between the pair. The book closes with a brief note on the effect of *Eclipse* blood in modern racing stock.

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The Appendix I can particularly recommend, having written so little of it myself. It is not, in this case, either the refuge for dry details that might have terrified a hasty reader of the text, or a mere rehearsal of the original sources from which earlier conclusions have been drawn. At the end of it I have placed a few considerations on the theory of breeding known as the "Figure-System." The earlier sections contain a good deal of information about both the O'Kelly family and their famous horse which has never appeared before, and may be welcomed by any one who cares for eighteenth-century racing. O'Kelly's description of the burial of Nelson, and the fragment of diary in which that occurs, have a distinct value that needs no further emphasis.

T. A. C.



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CHAPTER I

ARABIAN ORIGINS

Eduxit eos per abyssos quasi equum in deserto non impingentem

Value of *Eclipse* and his Descendants to the English Turf—Meaning of the Phrase “English Thoroughbred”—Special Peculiarities of the English Breed—Authorities on the Biology and History of the Horse—Earliest Records of riding—The first Jockey—Hellenic Horses—Importations of Southern and Eastern Horses to Europe and England—The Markham Arabian—The Ancestry of the Shire Horse—The Darley Arabian and the Royal Mares—The Keheilan Breed of Najd—Difference between Barbs or Turks and Arabs—Primeval Race of Najd—Important geographical Position of Arabia—The Horse in War.

JUST as no one can ever beat Sir Charles Bunbury's record on the Turf, owing to the accident that he won the first Derby, so it is impossible for any other race-horse to possess quite the reputation achieved by *Eclipse*, owing to the fact that he lived from 1764 to 1789, perhaps the most momentous years in the history of horse-breeding. His fame arises not so much from the unbeaten record of his two short years upon the Turf as from the fact that his blood, transmitted through the more famous of his sons, has proved to be the most valuable of any horse on record. It would not, indeed, be too much to say, knowing what we do know, that the son of George II. had bred the most valuable animal in the world when the colt by *Marske* out of *Spiletta* was foaled in Windsor Park. Faster horses there have been since, without a shadow of doubt; but in the reason of things it is impossible that even *Ormonde* or *St. Simon* can ever hold quite the place in

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history which is consecrated to O'Kelly's celebrated chestnut thoroughbred.

None of *Eclipse's* performances were ever timed, and I have the written testimony of his last owner to prove that he was never run against the watch. But everything points to the fact that pace nowadays is far greater than it was in 1770 over anything up to two miles, partly, of course, because we now run our races out from end to end, instead of waiting at the start, and the speed at which the Grand National Steeplechase was run last March is sufficient to show that if we cared to train our animals for four miles on the flat we could produce a pace that would show an equivalent improvement over 1770 at all distances. *Caiman's* 1.33 $\frac{1}{5}$ for the mile was done in 1900. But *Spearmint's* 2.36 $\frac{4}{5}$ for the Derby course, and *Ascetic Silver's* 9.34 $\frac{2}{5}$ for the 4 miles 856 yards, with 30 fences, of the Grand National, were both done in 1906; all three are faster than the distance has ever been done before; and not one could be approached in 1770 or in 1790, or even in 1810. It is certain, however, that *Eclipse* was himself a very great advance both in speed and stamina on everything known up to his time. The high class of *Ormonde* is shown in the fact that he had such extraordinarily good company to race against when he beat *Minting*, *Bendigo*, *Melton*, *St. Mirin*, *The Bard*, *Saraband* and *Kilwarlin*; the excellence of *St. Simon* is seen by the smashing style in which he won his victories. *Eclipse*, unbeaten like both of his celebrated successors, not only beat the best that England had to send against him for two years, but actually beat it by something over a couple of hundred yards, after making the running all the way; and, again like *St. Simon* and (in a less degree) *Ormonde*, he showed the invaluable power of being able to transmit his racing qualities to his descendants.

This means not only that his own framework was especially calculated for high speed and prolonged effort, but that it was animated by a vitality sufficiently strong and sufficiently persistent to transmit his qualities through an

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ever-widening circle of descendants for a period of time that already extends over one hundred and thirty years of the chronicles of their success. How was it, then, that so extraordinary a result was produced for the first time? What was the marvellous blend of blood that at a given moment, under auspicious circumstances, produced this English Thoroughbred? Are we to give most of the credit to the Darley Arabian, or to the Royal Mares, or to the English climate? A share, I think, must be allotted to all three; and, above all, we must not forget to give its due share also to that subtle and baffling process of slow improvement in English horseflesh which had been produced by English racing ever since 1618—a date for which my reason will become clear later on.

It will be seen that I do not here use the word “thoroughbred” in the same way as some authorities have used it, to signify a pure and proved and undiluted strain of Eastern (or of Southern) blood. The only “thoroughbred” in the world, on this definition would be the pure Arabian mare from Najd. The “English Thoroughbred” (a phrase usually shortened, in racing parlance, to the single word “Thoroughbred”) is by no means of pure extraction, as may be seen from the single consideration that the blood of the *Byerly Turk*, the *Godolphin Barb*, and the *Darley Arabian*, are transmitted to modern racing stock through *Matchem*, *Herod* and *Eclipse*, whose genealogies are by no means purely Arabian even when they can be said to be Eastern (or Southern); and it is my belief that the success of these three imported Eastern (or Southern) sires was greater in England than that of similar (and sometimes better bred) sires in any other part of the world, for the very reason that their blood achieved precisely the best blend possible when their three great descendants were foaled.

In other words, whatever we may call the English horse that was gradually being produced between 1624 and 1764, he possessed certain qualities, resulting partly from climate, partly from the habit of racing, and partly from the gradual infusion of imported blood for fifteen centuries; and these

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qualities happen to be exactly the ones best suited for crossing with the Arab strain. It is difficult to determine what they were; for the Arab blood never produced the same result in any other place or at any other time, in spite of the fact that most of the civilised world has for centuries endeavoured to produce that result by what they considered to be the same process. Evidently, therefore, that process is either indefinable or undiscoverable. I would liken its search to that of him who would define exactly how much English blood flows in the veins of the best Englishmen. In these days of extended travel and easy communication, marriages between different races have grown common, and each race involved may have a very mingled origin. In what proportion are we to say the various strains are mixed? The matter is not simplified if we go back to simpler centuries; for long before Burke was heard of or Debrett was born there was an aristocracy in these islands. What was its origin? Was it pure Norman, pure Saxon, or pure Dane; Celtic, Teutonic, or of what unmixed race? Of none, for it is better than any. Our most representative families spring from the happiest blend ever concocted in the great laboratory of Nature: the composite result of various strains known as the "English."

Much the same holds good of the "English Thoroughbred." He was no more produced by the calculations of scientific breeding than our best English families have been to-day. I do not say that, after the type had once arrived, due care in using various strains, or in neglecting various individual sires and dams, may not be of supreme importance; but I am certain that *Matchem*, *Herod*, and *Eclipse* owed very little to their breeders and nearly everything to the fortunate combination of environment and descent; and I am still more convinced that even nowadays it is impossible to label certain sires and dams with various figures, treat them like four-legged multiplication tables, and sit down to wait with confidence for the result.

We have, of course, far more excuse for some such

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system as this latter than had the breeders of 1764, because we enjoy not only more experience but far more scientific knowledge. The whole field of inquiry has, for instance, been altered by the life of one man, Darwin. In our special knowledge of the horse, which was begun by the anatomical studies of *Eclipse* published by Vial de Saint Bel, we can now point to the monumental researches of two other Frenchmen, Sanson and Piétrement, who have practically produced every scrap of evidence about a horse in history. Mr. Lydekker has made several valuable additions to scientific theory on the subject, which can be seen, better than has ever been the case before, in the beautifully arranged exhibits of the natural history of the horse to which Professor E. Ray Lankester, Director of the Natural History Branch of the British Museum, has given so much successful attention. The writings of Mr. Wilfrid Scaven Blunt are a mine of information about the Arab he loves so well, and breeds so carefully at Crabbet Park. The late Captain M. H. Hayes has put more about the subject of which he was a master into his one volume on "Points of the Horse" than could previously be obtained in a whole veterinary library. Major-General Sir John Hills has still further specialised the most valuable portion of the inquiry in "Points of a Racehorse." Professor James Cossar Ewart has carried us more deeply into the secrets of Nature by his patient and accurate experiments in breeding than we ever went before. Major-General Tweedie's researches into the history of the Arabian have distinct value. Messrs. Bruce-Lowe and William Allison have elaborated a whole theory of breeding, based on the value of certain families of mares, to which I have referred in the Appendix. Sir Walter Gilbey has probably done as much for various kinds of horse-breeding as any man alive, both by precept and example. Finally, Professor William Ridgeway has just published a volume which reveals a curious blend of scholarly research and highly speculative theory, and, when taken in conjunction (for instance) with Piétrement, leaves little unprinted that is either discovered or discoverable

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in quotations from ancient literature or monuments which bear upon the question.

I mention these prominent names not so much that I may announce they have succeeded in their fascinating quest, not even to safeguard myself by proclaiming my agreement with them, but merely to express my profound gratitude for their marshalling of countless facts which I shall proceed to use without any further specific acknowledgment of their authority. This is as much as to say that while I recognise the industry and accuracy of each and every one, I am unable wholly to accept the conclusion of any single writer among those just named; and since I owe to my reader at least that amount of trouble which consists in assuring him I have good reason for my various statements, I prefer to divide the credit for most of my facts among all the writers mentioned, and to assume myself the responsibility for conclusions to which none of them are wholly liable. I do not profess to be that perfect blend of biologist, historian, racing man, and scholar which can alone produce the ideal historian of *Eclipse*, O'Kelly, and the modern thoroughbred; but I have at least tried to deny to either of these four essential qualities a preponderating influence in what I have to say.

I shall begin, then, by sketching the natural history of the horse so far as is necessary for determining whether there was any special breed which has been a dominating factor in the development of *Eclipse*; and, if there was, I shall try to describe it and its place of origin; so that when a pure and undoubted specimen of that breed comes into England we shall know with a little more accuracy what is involved. It will be necessary also to say something of the kind of horse with which this imported animal (whether stallion or mare) was meant to breed, and to add a few words on climate. After this we can begin to appreciate a little better the essential meaning and value of the appearance of *Eclipse*, the heir of so many ages, and the author of so many victories to come. After this great sire himself has passed away, and the best of his descendants have been



SIR WALTER GILBEY.

From the original drawing by William Nicholson.

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described, it will be possible to consider what the effect of his existence has been upon the modern turf as we know it. This latter point I propose to treat of only in my last pages, and only with the brevity natural to a subject which is far better known than the rest of my material. Yet it was impossible to omit it in any monograph on *Eclipse* with the least pretensions to completeness, just as it would be impossible to omit, in the same chapters, those considerations of the Duke of Cumberland, his breeder, or of Colonel O'Kelly, his owner, or of others in that vastly interesting society of racing men and women before whose eyes the miracle of his actual life was passed.

There is no record of any horse having been ridden before 1000 B.C., and I find it quite natural to consider that nearly three thousand years of human development were necessary to produce such horsemanship as Archer's. But chariots have been traced back almost two thousand years before that. And in both cases I am giving the extremest limit suggested. It is, at any rate, certain that the horse was used for driving a very long time before he was ever ridden; and this again is natural, for you can drive a much smaller animal than is able to carry you, and the earliest known riding-horses have barely reached 14 hands. People who consider that the period assigned by Oppert to the Accadian Kings is too dark and backward an abyss of time for chariots, may take it as proved that chariots were known in Babylon at any rate by 1500 B.C., and were not known in Egypt before that date. They are carved upon a tombstone at Mycenæ in about 1400 B.C., and they were the chief instruments in the great Egyptian campaigns of the next century. Of course they are a prominent feature in the Homeric Battles, which brings us to about 850 B.C., and while the date of the lowest stratum of the Temple of Artemis, just discovered by Professor Bosanquet, remains uncertain, we may agree that the earliest four-horse chariot surviving in Greek art is the quadriga carved in an ancient metope at Selinus, in Sicily, in 628 B.C. No doubt this is far from the earliest made, for there was a chariot-race at

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the Olympic Games of 680 B.C., and there I may confidently leave the subject, for in another generation Greek horses had grown big enough to ride, and Archer's prototype appeared in the first Greek jockey at the Olympic Games of 648 B.C.

That appearance no doubt presupposes a good deal of riding previously; but as far as possible, in a subject so admittedly speculative, I am struggling to get at facts. For this reason I cannot accept any argument derived from Greek pottery discovered at Defenneh, the ancient Daphnæ, on the eastern side of the Nile Delta. Upon it are the figures of a man and horse, coloured dark, with a white dog and a woman (also white) riding the horse. The whole hindquarters of the animal have unfortunately disappeared, so that it is difficult to speak accurately of his breed; and, though the origin of the discovery points to the pottery having been made for people east of the Nile, the only thing I should consider it to suggest would be that women are depicted riding in the seventh century before Christ (to which the pottery is assigned), and therefore that men had begun to ride some time before the Olympic Games of 648 B.C., which is undoubtedly correct.

The horses carved upon the Parthenon show that the breed, though still smaller than a polo-pony, had undoubtedly assimilated a good deal of the southern strain; and in the refined cheek and jaw, the large and prominent eye, the lovely nostril, they exhibit the points we are accustomed to associate with Arab blood, though they also show the added length of head (in proportion to the body) which is observable to-day in any cross between an Arab and a coarser breed. By 359 B.C. we find a jockey on horseback on the coins of Philip II. of Macedon, and we know that Alexander's famous *Bucephalus* was bred by Philonicus of Pharsalus, in Thessaly. Now the Thessalian horses of about that age have been described, and they show that the cross between southern strains and the old, dun, aboriginal stock of Greece had been improved since the Parthenon was built. The phrase . . . "vestigia primi Alba pedis,

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frontemque ostentans arduus albam" almost exactly fits *Eclipse*, and shows that the breed of the *Darley Arabian*, dark bay with a white forehead and one or more white feet, had already begun to make its mark.

An inscription found in the castle of St. Angelo, at Rome, gives the names of forty-two winners driven in the second half of the first century A.D. by Avilius Teres, a celebrated charioteer. Out of this total no less than thirty-seven are called Libyan, and another is described as Mauretanian. The use of stock from the southern side of the Mediterranean littoral was evidently spreading. The Britons who faced Julius Cæsar's invading legions do not yet appear, however, to have discovered the strange improvement wrought upon the Continent by these southern importations; for their horses were still so small that they were chiefly used in chariots when it came to fighting. It is difficult to form any notion of what our small aboriginal horse was like, though it was at Newmarket, appropriately enough, that a coin of Cunobelin was discovered, used by the Iceni whom Boadicea led against the invader, on which the trained eye of Sir Walter Gilbey has discovered cardinal points in common with Shire, Clydesdale or Suffolk breeds of the present day. Whether the animal depicted had any affinity with the stock beloved by the men who fought under the banner of the White Horse and carved their totem on the Berkshire Downs, I cannot say. But it is certain that the Emperor Severus imported horses of a southern breed to Netherby, in Yorkshire; and as I know of none before his time, it is to them I must assign the dim beginning of that magical transmutation of our stock which was eventually to result in *Eclipse*.

Athelstan and Alfred had gifts made to them of southern horses. The first Briton who actually brought one to these shores was Alexander, King of Scotland, in 1121; and from that time onwards animals of a similar breed were either given to royalty or imported by them in small quantities; but the first one whose value for breeding racers was publicly acknowledged was the *Markham Arabian*, which

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King James I. purchased in 1618, with the deliberate object of improving the breed. The lesson had been learnt at last; but it was not quite the right blood yet, though near it, for the Duke of Newcastle (in a book published in 1667) says of him, "I never saw any but one of these horses," a curious admission which seems to show that the *Markham Arabian* at least justified his title so far as to appear different from the Turks and Barbs and half-breeds which preceded him. Yet he cannot have been right, for the same excellent judge describes the animal "which Mr. John Markham brought over and *said* he was a right Arabian. He was bay, but a little horse, and no rarity for shape. . . . When he came to run, every horse beat him." The Duke was undoubtedly prejudiced in favour of the big black English breed, the "great horse" of Charles I.'s statue in Trafalgar Square; but he knew what he was talking about. The *Markham Arabian's* failure on the racecourse was, with the knowledge we have now, only natural. His comparative failure at the stud is a more damning fact, though I have no doubt he "prepared the way" through many channels which are unknown to us, and improved the breed without leaving much record of his services. As appears from the Exchequer Receipt in the Record Office, he cost £154 and £111 to his groom.

The age of heavy armour had kept the "great horse" fashionable in England much longer than his speed alone would ever have warranted. His size was no doubt the result of such importations as those of Henry VIII. from the celebrated Gonzaga stud in Mantua, a stud full of southern crosses; and he was without doubt the ancestor of the shire-horse of the present day. But the final disappearance of the heavy-armoured knight, and the rise of such light cavalry as Cromwell's, necessitated pace as well as mere endurance; and the heavy black horse was either relegated to the plough, the waggon and the family coach, or he was crossed (later on) with the thoroughbred to produce the chargers of the Household Cavalry. The shire-horse, who descends from him, has not wholly beaten his

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sword into a ploughshare, and so room is still found for him on a modern battlefield. But no man rides him. He pulls the batteries of 4.7 guns which did such good service in South Africa.

From all this it follows that England, before 1700, had only imported Turks, Barbaries, or their derivatives, with very rare exceptions, such as a few of the Royal Mares or the *Markham Arabian*; and it is clear that no startling result had yet been reached. The experience of the Continent, that all other aboriginal breeds were improved by being crossed with animals from regions to the south and east of the Mediterranean, had indeed been followed. But the exactly right blood had not been tapped. Even if the *Markham Arabian* had been right, the conditions of 1617 were evidently not yet ripe to produce the victorious blend required. They were not perfect even when, in 1710, the right sire did at last arrive. And he was himself no good on the racecourse, but that he brought the right blood his extraordinary and immediate successes at the stud are on record as a proof.

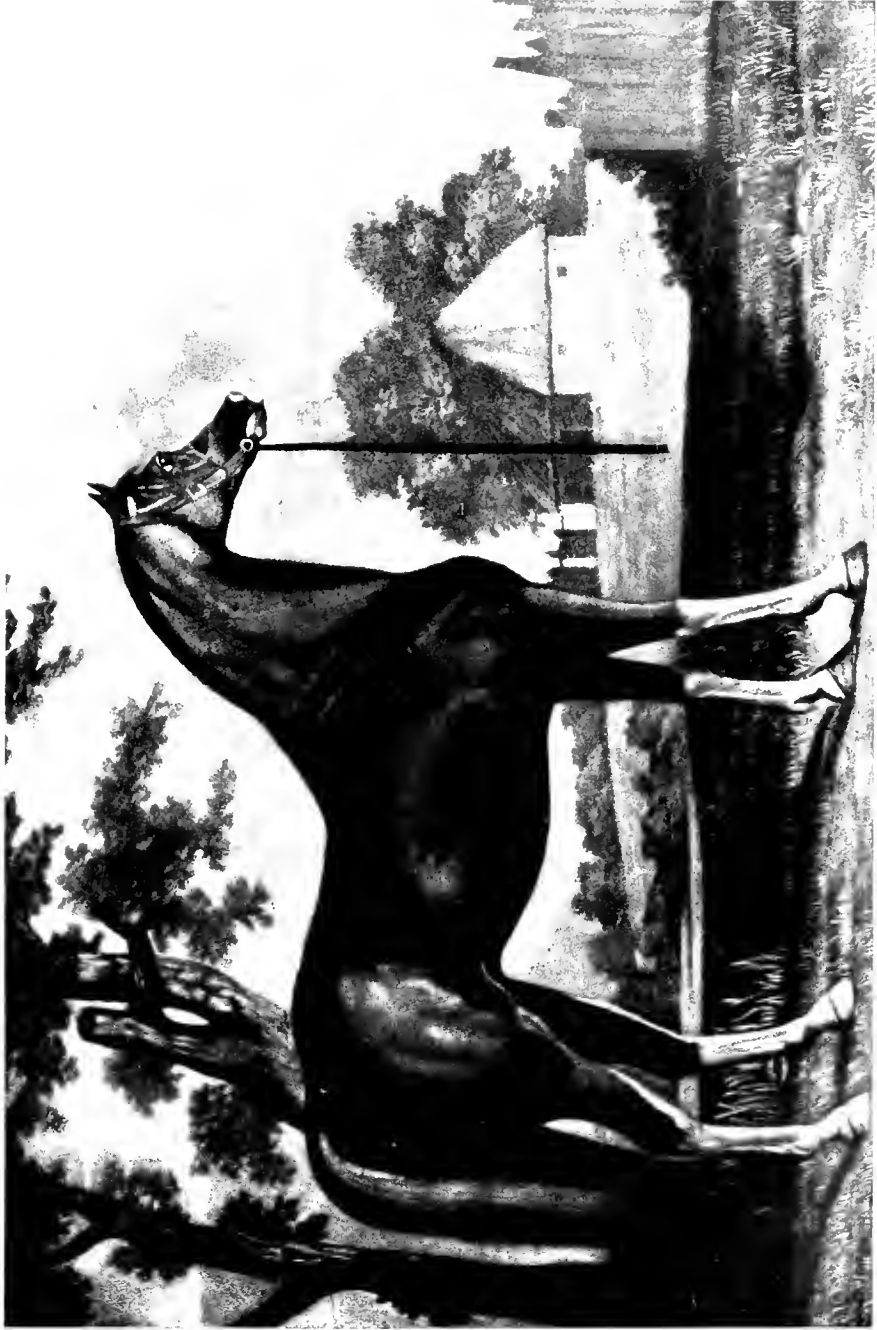
The *Darley Arabian* was imported in 1710, and he is the only authentically pure-bred "Anazah" horse in the General Stud Book. He was the property of Mr. Darley, of Buttercramb, near York, whose brother was a merchant abroad and sent the horse from Aleppo to England. The position of Aleppo (Haleb) is of some importance, for Aleppo is still one of the regular markets for the horse dealers of Najd. It is on the 36th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, between the seacoast of Northern Syria (opposite the north of Cyprus) and the right-hand bank of the river Euphrates; and it was probably not far from here that the animal was bred. He was a bay with a white star on his forehead and four white feet, of the breed called by the Arabs "Keheilan," and he is sometimes spoken of as "Rasel-Fedawi." The word "Keheilan" is a derivative of "Kohl," which is the name given by the Arabs to the only breed of true Arabian, because the skin of these horses, not only on the face, but all over the body, shows the blue-black

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tint of the human skin when dyed with the mineral peculiarly affected by Eastern women. The *Darley Arabian* has been called an "Anazah" horse, from the name of the tribe which bred him. They live in the district called Shammar or Shamiya by the Arabs, and the Palmyrene or Syrian desert by Europeans, between the 40th and 45th degree of east longitude, and from the 25th to the 30th parallel of latitude. The name "Aneisa" will be found, in most good atlases, almost exactly on the 45th degree of east longitude, in the country to the east of the Red Sea. To this district the Anazah tribe have migrated from Najd, which is a little further to the south-east in Central Arabia; and, by common consent of both Bedouins and Europeans, they still possess the best horses, which are usually about 14.3, generally bay, and constantly with a white star or blaze on the face and one or more white feet, as was the case with the *Darley Arabian*, *Flying Childers*, and *Eclipse*.

Of the Keheilan horses Mr. Blunt, writing from personal observation, says that they are "the most numerous and, taken generally, the most esteemed. They contain a greater proportion, I think, of bays than any other strain. They are the fastest, though not perhaps the hardiest horses, and bear a closer resemblance than the rest"—Mr. Blunt is writing, of course, in the nineteenth century—"to English thoroughbreds," a resemblance which would quite naturally strike an Englishman of the present day, since the majority of our modern racing stock is derived from the *Darley Arabian* through *Eclipse*.

It has been proved that cross-bred horses are taller and stronger than the pure Keheilans, whether the mate chosen for the Arab is taller than the eastern animal or not, and irrespective of sex on either side. This is important with a view to the results of breeding in England; and it may be added that the horses now used for breeding by the Anazah tribes are not chosen for size and shape, or for any quality of speed or stoutness, but only for their blood, so that all their stock is related in the closest degree of consanguinity, and must have somewhat degenerated; for, when a stallion



AN ARABIAN IMPORTED FOR LORD GROSVENOR IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
From an engraving in the possession of Mr. Tatters all after the painting by Stubbs.

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was brought to Mr. Blunt to see, owing to his unexceptional blood, that unprejudiced and accurate observer thought him "a mere pony without a single good point." This reminds me irresistibly of the Duke of Newcastle's verdict on the *Markham Arabian*, and it suggests that, while the animal bought by James I. in 1618 may have shown the same signs of degeneration observed by Mr. Blunt in the "pony" of a few years ago, the horse picked out by Mr. Darley at Aleppo in 1710 was of the finest fibre of a strong race at its best. Whether this hypothesis be right, or whether the "Royal Mares" imported between 1618 and 1710 had altered the situation, the fact remains that the *Darley Arabian*, when mated with mares resident in England, produced an offspring which was better than either of its parents, and did what the *Markham Arabian* has never been recorded as having shown any signs of doing. I must add my own opinion that the blood of the *Darley Arabian* proved itself so potent for yet another reason: he was a pure representative of the oldest and best indigenous breed of horses in the world.

It has been suggested by the latest writer on the subject that this indigenous breed (which Professor Ridgeway calls *equus caballus libycus*) came originally from the Mediterranean littoral of North-West Africa and the plains immediately south of the Atlas, the very regions, in fact, inhabited by the modern Barb, whose special characteristics are a convex forehead line (giving him a ramsheaded profile), and a tail set low down and carried trailing between his hocks. But not only was the Atlas region quite cut off from the rest of Africa, in primitive times, by the geography of the country, but the type of the Barb is as different from the true Keheilan form of the *Darley Arabian* as the Turk is from either. As a matter of much greater probability, the Keheilan, or Arabian, was the original type from which both Barb and Turk were early derivatives, and it was from the East, and not from the West, that ancient Egypt took her best breed, as eighteenth-century England took it later on.

The elevated plateau of Najd rises some 4000 feet above

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the sea in Central Arabia, buttressed by mountains that may be higher still. Water was formerly much more plentiful there than it is now, says an experienced traveller and eye-witness, and still exists in quantities sufficient for sober feeders on the high ground, while there is plenty of grass and shrubs for pasture, and in earlier centuries this may well have been as great a district for horse-breeding in the animal's natural and wild state, as it is now that they are bred and cared for by the Arabs. It is not at all impossible that horses should have lived here before man; but it certainly is impossible in the Sahara. Najd offers, in fact, very much the same facilities for horse-forage as are found on the principal horse-breeding plateaus of Central Asia, where they run wild to this day; and it may well be that a variety of the wild horse of Southern Asia, wandering southwards by the higher line of hill country which joins Syria to the central plateau of Arabia, reached Najd, remained there, and, in the increasing dryness, became specialised into a breed which may be called indigenous, which is certainly different from every other in the world, which has certainly preserved its characteristic excellencies longer than any other in the world, and which has had more influence than any other breed upon the improvement of horses all over the world. The primeval horse left behind in Central Asia by these more hardy and adventurous wanderers may be typified by the small wild variety known as "Prejvalsky's horse" to-day, and it is this coarser breed which furnished the aboriginal stock of Europe which successive importations of Arabian, Turk and Barb improved.

That the horses who had domiciled themselves in Najd were not starved out for want of water before the first men who reached the district discovered them, is clear from what followed; and the process of the gradual survival of the fittest, which was necessitated by increasing aridity, only improved the material when it was discovered. No doubt the first tribes who came in contact with the breed, afterwards to be known as "Keheilan," used camels as their chief form of locomotion. The Arabs living on the same

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spot now have camels still. But riding-horses very probably came into fashion when the decay of the Roman Empire, about 120 A.D., gave an opportunity for the foundation of the two Arab kingdoms of Hira and Ghassan on the banks of the Euphrates and on the Syrian frontier respectively. This, in Piétrement's opinion, gave Central Arabia its opportunity for supplying light cavalry during the next six centuries. With the arrival of Mahomet the position of the Arab horse was fixed for all time.

Najd, it will be noticed, occupies a very important geographical position with reference to the movement of early trade and population. To the north-east, beyond the frontier-hills of Persia, lie Meshed and Teheran. Along the northern horizon lies the Euphrates valley, with Basra and Bagdad. To the north-west are Aleppo, Palmyra, Damascus and Beyrout. Across the Nile delta is Alexandria. The Persian Gulf extends its waters to the east of the Arabian Peninsula, the Red Sea laves its western boundaries, and close to this coast-line lies Mecca.

It was the doctrines which spread from Mecca that first gave its real impetus to careful breeding from the indigenous Arabian horse of Najd, produced as I have just indicated and improved as Piétrement suggests many a century before the Koran was ever written. "Thou shalt be to a man a source of happiness and wealth," wrote Mahomet of the horse, and it was of the Anazah breed that he was writing; the breed which (through its Barb derivatives) had made Pindar sing of Cyrene, "the city of fair steeds and goodly riders;" which gave Carthage, in 400 B.C., the crest of a horse's head upon her coins; which furnished those Numidian steeds that helped Hannibal to teach the Romans the value of good cavalry. It was by the constant and religious use of the fountain-head of this the best blood in the world, that the Mahomedan cavalry spread the faith of the Prophet so widely and victoriously over the face of the earth. It was the southern blood in his best horses which gave William the Conqueror his victorious cavalry at Hastings.

CHAPTER II

ARABIAN AND THOROUGHBRED

Equi rufi qui crant robustissimi exierant et quærebant ire et discurrere per omnem terram . . . ecce qui egrediuntur in terram aquilonis

Questions of Colour—Points of the True Arab—The Face-land in Skulls of Arabs, Thoroughbreds, and Shires—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's Arabs—The Problem of Breeding—Why England Succeeded where other Nations Failed—Famous Mares—Arguments from *Eclipse's* Pedigree—Pure and impure Strains of Blood—Predominance of *Eclipse* Blood—Breeding of our Derby Winners—*Spearmint*—Steeplechasing—Effects of Climate—Effects of Re-importing Exported Stock—The Year of the Great Eclipse.

IT is easier to imagine what the typical, pure breed of the old Arab looked like than is the case with any other animal ; for its points are so persistent throughout the artistic record of its life-history that there is probably very little difference in the best of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's Arabs in the Crabbet Park pastures of to-day, from their far-off progenitors who carried the first horsemen of the Prophet on their military Evangel throughout Africa, Asia, and Europe. In colour the Keheilan foals are always bay, chestnut, or dark brown ; none are ever foaled white, and those that turn white later on preserve the dark, "kohl" skin distinctive of their breed. The produce of two chestnuts in the Keheilan is always a chestnut ; but no other colour is so persistent, not even bay, which may possibly indicate that *Eclipse's* vivid chestnut coat is appropriate to his first-rate strain of Eastern breeding. It is curious that in early days from 1700 onwards, English race-horses ran in all colours, as will be seen from my extracts

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from Yorkshire racing-cards later on ; and for a long while greys remained good, though the only one I ever saw in the Derby was the ill-fated *Holocauste* ; in Australia they were common for much longer. But since 1836 colours have gradually become much more uniform. In the thirty years following, for example, the Derby was won by sixteen bays, seven chestnuts and seven browns. The same proportion (with two less chestnuts) hold good in the Oaks and St. Leger. From 1870 to 1899 inclusive, taking the three first horses in the Derby, Oaks, and St. Leger, we find that 132 were bay, 78 were chestnut, 46 brown, and 4 black. Of the others, nine were of the indeterminate shades between black and brown, and between brown and bay. The bays are not only more numerous at the end, but have steadily increased all the time. The result is that English thoroughbred stock is slowly becoming all bay, and it would be difficult to deny that this has some connection with the precisely parallel growth in the establishment of the *Darley Arabian's* blood, a growth which I shall show in greater detail directly. It is probable, therefore, that bay colouring may be taken to be as distinctively typical of Keheilan ancestry as conformation, and it is interesting to note how often the white blaze on the face, and the one or more white feet are still repeated in the famous descendants of *Eclipse* that have made their mark in English racing. How long distinctive colour-marks may endure can be seen at Newmarket to-day ; for a yearling has just made his appearance there with the exact mark upon him which suggested a name for the *Bloody-shouldered Arabian* in the eighteenth century. It is significant that the Arabs always set great store upon such marks, and others of a like kind.

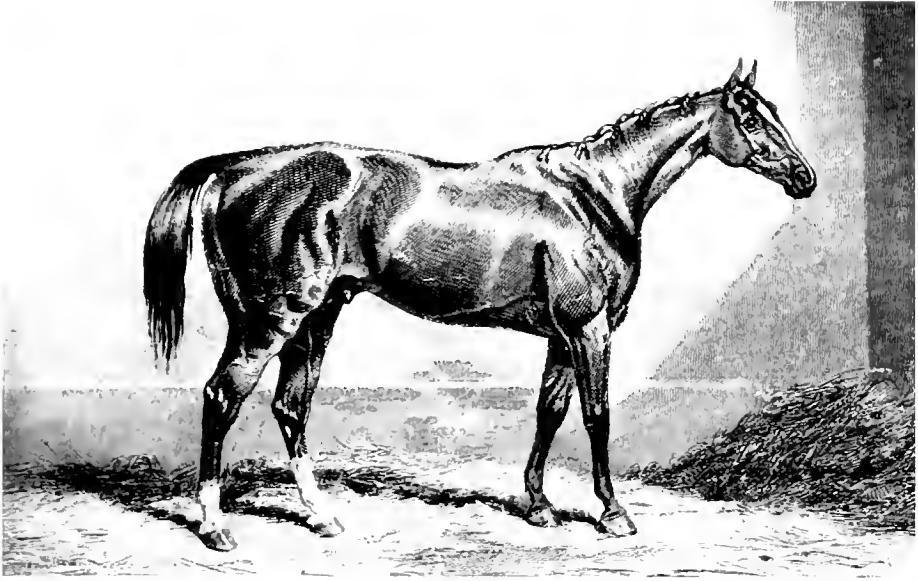
Throughout the whole frame of the Keheilan, observers in his own country are unanimous in praising the extreme natural appearance of the horse, the balance of his power, the symmetry of his form, the proportion of his lines. The head is peculiarly beautiful, and is more nearly divided into equal parts by the centre of the eye than is the case with

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other breeds ; it tapers very much from eye to muzzle and the nostril is peculiarly long, running upwards towards the face and set up outwards from the nose, so that in moments of excitement it expands beyond the outline of the nose when seen in profile. The ears are beautifully shaped, well placed, and point upwards in a manner that is an undoubted sign of the blood. The throat is particularly large, loose, and pliant. The shoulders slope a great deal, and are deep and strong by the withers. Standing in front of him you see the swell of his barrel expanding beyond his breast and shoulders, as was the case with *Eclipse*, though I have seen very few modern stayers of that build. Big heart-room nowadays seems more associated with high speed over a short distance. An Arab's back ribs, seen from behind, have just as great a swell ; and this also will be noticeable in my photograph of *Eclipse's* skeleton. He has a symmetrically curved neck, with high and well-developed withers, and a short back just big enough for a saddle and no more. His stride is longer in proportion to his size than that of any other horse, which is chiefly owing to his knee being set on low and his sloping pasterns. The feet are wide, and open at the heels, the hocks large, clean and well-formed, and the quarters both long and deep.

Such, if we may believe an unvarying tradition in accurate artistic presentments of him throughout the centuries, was the original Keheilan, when his type had once been fixed upon the table-land of Najd ; and such was the *Darley Arabian* of 1710 when he was brought into this country. You might have seen the exact type, still persisting from the same locality, in Lord Roberts' famous charger at the Jubilee Procession of Queen Victoria. You may see it now in Mr. Blunt's pastures at Crabbet Park.

A most interesting confirmation of these historical facts is suggested by the biological argument drawn from the series of horses' skulls now exhibited in the Natural History Branch of the British Museum. In those of thoroughbreds (of which I have reproduced *Bend Or*, *Stockwell*, and others)



STOCKWELL

From a print in the "Sporting Magazine" Vol. CV.



SKULL OF STOCKWELL

In the British Museum of Natural History

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you will observe a slight depression in the bone of the face in front of the socket for the eye. This was first pointed out by Mr. R. Lydekker. A similar depression occurs in the skulls of Arabs, which are further distinguished by the sinuous outline of the profile, a feature very noticeable in descendants of that famous thoroughbred *King Tom*. It is quite evident that this depression corresponds to a somewhat deeper one occurring in the skull of the extinct Indian *Equus sivalensis*; and it is difficult to believe that the latter does not represent a still larger cavity found in the three-toed *Hipparion*. This has been explained as the cavity for a face-gland like the "larmier" of deer, and the "crumen" of many antelopes; and it is a natural inference that the faint depression noticeable in Arabs and thoroughbreds is the last vestige of this face-gland. It appears, however, that in thoroughbreds it serves as the point of origin for the muscle which elevates the outer side of the nostril—a muscle which has a specially strong action in Arabs, who have much greater power of raising the rim of the nostril than other breeds.

Whatever may have been the original function of the depression, it seems practically certain that the vestige occurring in Arabs and thoroughbreds represents the deeper one in *Equus sivalensis* and the distinct pit in *Hipparion*. As a rule, this vestige is absent in the ordinary horses of North-Western Europe, which are believed to be derived from the dun *Equus caballus przewalskii* type; and hence arises the inference that Arabs and thoroughbreds carry proofs in their structure of descent from a different stock. Can it be that, as I suggested a few pages back, the original Arabian who developed his own type at Najd, was a wandering offshoot of the Indian *Equus sivalensis*, and therefore retained (throughout all his other changes in Arabia) the original face-gland, or whatever we may call the structure, later than was the case with the ancestral stock of the dun breed that populated the north-western continent.

Somewhat curiously, a very large pre-orbital depression

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is observable in the two skulls of pedigree shire-horses in the Museum, *Blaisdon Conqueror* and *Prince William*. Shires are known to have been crossed with Barb blood when used as war-horses in mediæval times ; and to this, it is suggested, is due the facial depression. The question is naturally still undecided ; but Shires are interesting from another point of view. The foot-bones of *Prince William*, also displayed in the Museum, exhibit a remarkable development of the splint-bones in each foot, which carry at their lower ends an enlargement certainly representing the lateral phalangeal bones of the three-toed *Hipparion*. This identification has made it possible to correlate the very small terminal expansion sometimes found at the lower end of the splint-bones of other horses—*Stockwell*, for instance, with the lateral phalanges of *Hipparion*, their extinct cousin.

I may add, in passing, that no lover of the horse can now neglect the Museum in which Professor Ray Lankester has done as much for the thoroughbred as for any animal in the vast establishment over which he so ably presides. I have given a few photographs to illustrate what has just been written ; but in the Museum you may now see exquisite models to scale of *Persimmon*, *Zinfandel*, and the Arab *Jenghis Khan*, which are of the greatest interest for purposes of comparison, as the different skulls and skeletons are set up and labelled to show the development of various breeds and types from the fossils found in the lower Eocene tertiary strata to those of the present day.

The development possible in pure Arabian stock unmixed with other breeds may be best seen in the imported animals and home-bred foals under the care of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, at Crabbet Park. But it must always be remembered that the pure Arab has never been any use for racing on an English course, and never will be. The English thoroughbred he helped to make was not only faster than anything known in England before ; he was also much better than anything seen before in the Eastern home of the finest and purest Arab stock ever bred. It has over and over again been proved, since the eighteenth century, that for sheer



CANNON-BONES OF SHIRE HORSE
In the British Museum of Natural History

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pace the thoroughbred can give the Arab several stone and a beating over anything up to two miles and a half in this country. It is only for long distances, and for hard work involving stamina alone on a fairly soft surface, that the pure-bred Arab may still be useful. It has also been incontestably proved that modern thoroughbred stock cannot possibly be improved by the direct infusion of fresh blood from a pure-bred Arab sire. So soon, indeed, was this last point discovered that he has been left alone by all racing men in his native deserts almost since the days of *Matchem*, *Herod*, and *Eclipse*. Writing in 1827, Mr. Nicholas Hanckey Smith says in his "Observations" that "from about the year 1768 up to the present period it appears the Arabian and foreign stallions have not been much resorted to"; and this is far from being the only evidence. If the Arab had been loved for himself alone, or for any further proved good he could have done, a steady stream of Arabs would have begun far earlier and gone on increasing up to the present time. But at a given moment—a moment which almost exactly coincides with the lifetime of the breeder of *Eclipse*—a blend of blood was achieved which promised rapid perfection both in speed and staying-powers. Why it was discovered just then it would be hard to say. Why no one else discovered it, when the Arab was within far easier reach of other nations, it is equally difficult to explain. Yet I must try to indicate some reasons for a phenomenon which remains so true that all the best racing stock in the world to-day is descended not from the Arab directly, but through the English thoroughbred.

The Arabs themselves trace the pedigree of their horses through the mares, and not through the stallions, as with us; and this reminds me that in any description of the state of English racing-stock from 1618 to 1710 it would be most unfair to give the whole credit for future improvement to the *Markham Arabian* and the *Darley Arabian* alone. Indeed, the difference in the value of the results produced by these two sires may very possibly be largely explained by the fact that in the interval between the dates of their

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arrival Charles II. had sent Sir John Fenwick to the Levant and imported the first mares ever seen in this country which are even likely to have been of pure Arabian origin. An Arab will rarely part with a blood-mare even when he is starving. "Equam memento rebus in arduis Servare" has been his motto, as it was Lord North's when that witty minister heard his son had sold the whole stud farm. Sires had been comparatively easy to import, but mares, even of the Turk or Barb persuasion, were always most difficult to get; and in the case of the Keheilan of the Anazah tribes, I should think them so hard to obtain that more evidence is necessary to convince me that any reached England. Still, one or two may have done so, considering the royal master who had sent Sir John; and at any rate the mares of less exalted breeds would probably be much better than the stallions.

However that may be, the Royal Mares (as they are called) which appear so frequently in *Eclipse's* pedigree, no doubt had a great deal to say in the making of his excellence; and the debt which future historians will owe to Messrs. Bruce Lowe and William Allison is that they were the first to lay special stress on the early mares recorded to be Eastern, and to calculate their value on a basis of the winners and sires that can be traced to them from the present day right back. I believe the horse usually called the *Godolphin Arabian* was actually a Barb, and when the difficulty of getting pure Arab mares is properly taken into account, it will be better understood why so many of these early matrons were actually Barbs. The authors just mentioned have calculated that if the results of all the races for the One Thousand, Two Thousand, Derby, Oaks, St. Leger, Ascot Cup, Goodwood Cup and Doncaster Cup be all calculated together, 98 winners can trace their pedigree in direct female line to Mr. Tregonwell's Natural Barb mare, 81 to Burton's Barb mare, 85 to Mr. Bowes' Byerly Turk mare, who was dam of the two *True Blues*, 66 to the Layton Barb mare and 53 to the daughter of Massey's Black Barb, who was granddam of *Old Ebony*.

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In the first of these families the percentage of winners to runners, in a branch that has not been the most prolific, is so high that its vitality may be said to be particularly marked, and among the ten Derby winners it can claim, who are also descended from *Eclipse* in the male line, are *Waxy Pope* (1809), *Whalebone* (1810), *Whisker* (1815), *Cossack* (1847), *Lord Lyon* (1866), *Blue Gown* (1868), *Silvio* (1877), *Bend Or* (1880), *Ladas* (1894), and *Jeddah* (1898). Of these *Silvio* and *Lord Lyon* also won the St. Leger. Of other Derby winners also descending in female line from Tregonwell's Natural Barb mare, through Sir W. Ramsden's Byerly Turk mare, who was her great-granddaughter, are four tracing in male line to *Herod*, namely, *Rhadamanthus* (1790), *Daedalus* (1794), *Middleton* (1825), and *Bay Middleton* (1836), the last of whom was the sire of *Flying Dutchman* (Derby and St. Leger 1849), and *Andover* (Derby 1854). The only descendant of *Matchem* in the same list is *Tiresias* (1819).

I need only add that of the winners who trace both to this mare and to *Eclipse*, *Whalebone* was also sire of *Caroline* (Oaks 1820), *Lapdog* (Derby 1826), *Spaniel* (Derby 1831) and *Moses* (Derby 1832); but the latter has also been claimed as a son of *Seymour*. *Whisker* is another, and he was sire of two St. Leger winners in *Memnon* (1825) and *Colonel* (1828). *Cossack* is a third, for he was sire of *Gamester* (St. Leger 1859). *Lord Lyon* is a fourth, being sire of *Placida* and *Minting*; and *Bend Or* closes this little list of specially bred animals, renowned both as performers and sires, for he was the sire of *Ormonde*, which is enough for any one.

Some theories attribute *Eclipse's* excellence almost wholly to the *Darley Arabian*; others almost wholly to the Royal Mares; but as I have already indicated, I should consider these as only two potent factors in a very remarkable blend. To my mind they by no means exclude a third, and that is the English cross-bred already in existence. Horses saturated with Southern blood had existed in these islands from the days of the Roman occupation onwards, and the

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excellent English hunters spoken of before 1618, no doubt derived their blood from the Turkish and Barb importations so common in the sixteenth century; and though the *Darley Arabian* himself was undoubtedly a better sire than either the *Godolphin Barb* or the *Byerly Turk*; though he was greatly assisted by his predecessors, the *Markham Arabian*, and the Royal Mares; yet I still venture to describe *Eclipse* as the result of a very fortunate mixture of the Eastern animal, improved by residence in this climate, with the English animal who had already reached a very considerable value before the results of such unions had been scientifically appreciated.

Let us see if there is any confirmation for this in a closer examination of *Eclipse's* pedigree, apart from his descent as great-great-grandson in direct line of the *Darley Arabian*. Taking the Southern strains first, *Squirt* goes back (through his dam) to the *Lister Turk*, who also gave much (through *Coneyskins* and *Blackleg's* daughter) to *Marske*, besides being the great-great-grandsire of *Spiletta*. The Eastern and Southern strains in this glorious co-operation may be summed up concisely as follows: *Lister Turk* (5), *D'Arcy Yellow Turk* (5), *D'Arcy White Turk* (5), *Helmsley Turk* (2), *Byerly Turk*, *Oglethorpe Arabian*, *Pulleine's Arabian*, *Ancaster Turk*, *St. Victor Barb*, *Fenwick Barb*, *Hutton's Grey Barb*, *Hutton's Bay Barb*, *Godolphin Barb*, and various "Royal Mares," who are usually supposed to have been of pure Eastern blood. It should also be noted that through his sire, *Marske*, he inherited the blood of that *Bustler* mare who was fourth dam of the *Coneyskins* mare on p. 7 of the General Stud Book, vol. i., from whose family came *Orville*, *Sultan*, *Newminster*, *Ayrshire* and *St. Serf*. Through his dam, *Spiletta*, *Eclipse* traced back to that Royal Mare from whom came the *Montagu* mare, on p. 13 of the same volume, in whose line occur *Saltram*, *Voltaire*, *Weatherbit*, *Adventurer*, *Sterling* and *Springfield*. *Regulus*, maternal grandsire of *Eclipse*, is descended from the Ledbury Royal Mare who was the dam of *Miss D'Arcy's Pet Mare*, (p. 15,

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op. cit.), in whose line are *Orme*, *Birdcatcher*, *Royal Hampton* and *St. Simon*. But it is when we turn to those factors which cannot be proved to be Eastern or Southern at all that we reach the really interesting result about *Eclipse*.

What an Arabian purist would call the "flaws" begin as far back as the *Darley Arabian's* grandson, for *Squirt*, the son of *Bartlett's Childers*, was out of the sister to *Old Country Wench*, who was the daughter of *Snake* and *Grey Wilkes*, and there is no record either of *Snake's* granddam or of *Miss D'Arcy's Pet mare*, the dam of *Grey Wilkes*; though it may be considered as certain that if their pedigree had been Eastern it would have been specifically so stated. Again, the maternal grandsire of *Marske* was *Blacklegs*, whose dam was by *Coneyskins* out of the *Old Clubfoot Mare*, and though the sires of these two were the *Lister Turk* and *Hautboy* respectively, neither of their dams is traceable. It should be further remembered that what has just been said with regard to the genealogy of *Marske* holds equally good in the case of *Spiletta*, in so far as *Snake* and the sister to *Old Country Wench* occur in her pedigree as well.

It is most improbable that, if any of the mares I have described as "unknown" had really been of Eastern, or even Southern, descent, the fact would not have been mentioned, especially as so many well-known cases are authenticated in which precisely that fact of origin has been most carefully preserved. That the fact of their being "unknown" does not militate against their excellence is clear enough from the typical example of the *Vintner Mare*, owned by Mr. Curwen, of Workington, early in the seventeenth century. Now Mr. Crofts has left a valuable memorandum about this very mare, whom he saw race, to the effect that she was a brood mare before she raced, and was the best bred as well as the best racer of her day in the North. It is not likely that he would have omitted the important fact of Eastern descent could it have been proved. It is clear to me that she was exactly the kind of breed of which I

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have already spoken, the English animal improved by such casual Southern importations as were habitual in the Lowther stud. Her excellence, at any rate, is beyond question; from her are descended, in direct female line, *Partner*, *Crab*, *Soldier*, *Muley Moloch*, *Nutwith*, *Bendigo*, *Tertius*, and many other winners down to *Kilwarlin* (St. Leger, 1887).

If the pedigree of *Eclipse* be compared with that of *Herod*, or of *Matchem*, it shows another interesting point in support of the theory I venture to advance, entirely apart from any intrinsic excellence of the *Darley Arabian's* blood over the *Godolphin Barb's*, or the *Byerly Turk's*; for it will be seen that *Matchem* has the most Eastern blood of any of the three, while *Herod* has considerably less than either of his rivals. Neither of these were such good racehorses as *Eclipse*, and he has long ago established his predominance over both as a sire; indeed, I am tempted to conclude, if this predominance is referable to the exact blend of his blood, that *Herod* was less successful because he had too much of the cross-bred strain and not sufficient Eastern; but that *Matchem* was far the least successful of all because there was too much Eastern blood in him, and it had not been sufficiently strengthened by the English breed produced in the manner I have already several times described.

But apart from any arguments based on mares, it is worth noting that almost the only theory in horse-breeding which every one must admit to-day is the predominance of *Eclipse* blood on the modern turf; and there is the still more extraordinary fact that (as will be seen from the tables in my Appendix) all the Derby winners except four, from the institution of the race until now, trace in direct male line to *Eclipse*, to *Herod*, or to *Matchem*; and out of these four exceptions, two trace to the sire and the paternal grandsire of *Eclipse*, these being *Sir Thomas* (1788) and *Assassin* (1782) respectively. The remaining two out of the four exceptions named are Lord Clermont's *Aimwell* (1785), who traces to *Spectator* and *Crab*, and Lord Egre-

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mont's *Hannibal* (1804), who traces to *Trentham* and *Sweepstakes*. These exceptions show, I think, that *Matchem*, *Herod*, and *Eclipse* were not merely used because they were "fashionable." They asserted a vital superiority owing to natural causes that were far more lasting; and the supremacy, among these three, of the one line of *Eclipse* is a still more telling example of "the survival of the fittest," though biologists would hardly agree with me if I spoke of the breeding which produced it as "natural selection."

It is to Science, however, that I must perforce leave the explanation of the strange truth that out of all the Derby winners tracing to the three sires named, *Matchem* can only claim 3, *Herod* only 35, and *Eclipse* no less than 82. This, again, was by no means due to mere "fashion;" for in the first fifty years of the Derby *Herod* had 20 winners to *Eclipse's* 23, which might well be taken to be a merely accidental inferiority; but in the next fifty years *Herod* falls to 15 and *Eclipse* claims 33, which is far more suggestive; and in the last twenty-seven years *Herod* drops out altogether and *Eclipse* blood wins every time save one, which fairly clinches the argument. For half a century, in fact, *Eclipse* and *Herod* started fairly level as far as stud chances were concerned, and did almost equally well; but after that the *Eclipse* line began to strengthen its position so enormously that at last it carried all before it, with the single exception of *Sir Visto's* score for *Matchem* in 1895. *Matchem's* other winners, it may be added, are *Didelot* (1796), *Smolensko* (1813), *Tiresias* (1819), *West Australian* (1853), and *Blink Bonny* (1857).

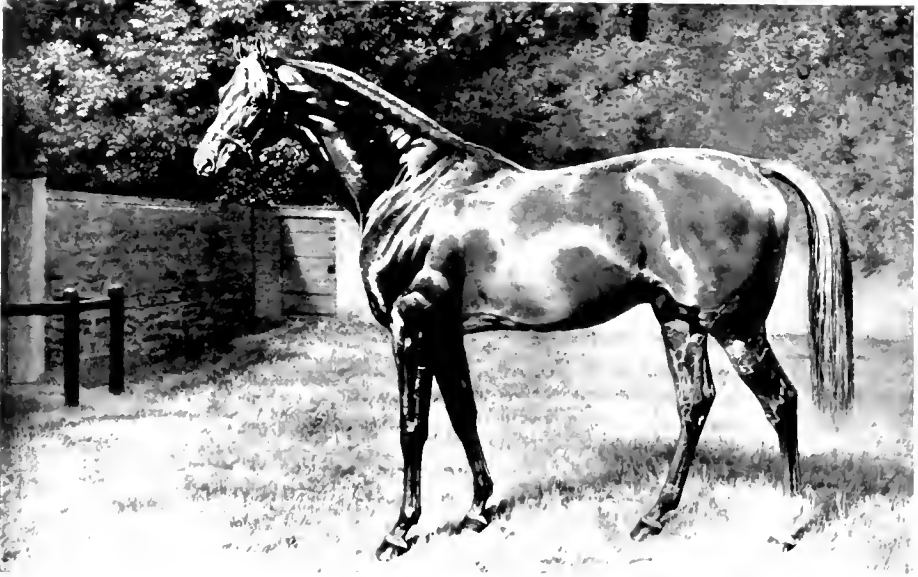
The tables in the Appendix, in which all this is set out, should provide a trustworthy test of the value of the blood for all those who would agree that, taking one season with another, the Derby winner is the best of his year. Instances here and there will occur to every one in which this has obviously not been the case. But the generalisation holds good if it is made for the whole records of the race, and the choice of any other animal would invariably lead to argu-

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ment that would be as unending as it is unprofitable. The value of the Derby, not only to thoroughbred-stock but to hunting and to the army, is enough to make the race a national asset of more importance than sport alone might (in some minds) justify. The most famous trotting families in America began with *Diomed*, the first Derby winner. France and Germany, through such sires as *Flying Fox* or *Galtee More* and *Ard Patrick*, draw their best blood from the same source. When our own colonies take our best horses and send back their sons, the value of the change of climate is stamped for all time on such a sire as *Carbine*, when his son *Spearmint* wins the classic race.

Spearmint (the Derby winner of 1906) is an excellent example to bring us back to the value of *Eclipse*, for to the son of *Marske* and *Spiletta* he traces in direct male descent, though by an unusual line; being by *Carbine*, by *Musket*, by *Toxophilite*, by *Longbow*, by *Ithuriel*, by *Touchstone*, by *Camel*, by *Whalebone*, by *Waxy*, by *Pot8os*, by *Eclipse*; and the point of this is that *Lord Clifden* and *Hermit* had hitherto been the two sons of *Touchstone* who had chiefly strengthened his branch of the *Eclipse* line; whereas new life has been infused into the *Ithuriel* family by the importation from Australia of such sires as *Carbine*, whose value is now proved by *Spearmint's* success; but whether that value is due (as I believe) to the transportation of stock to the limestone pastures of Australia, I must leave more learned biologists and men of science to decide.

Let me add, before continuing, that *Spearmint* is by *Carbine* out of *Maid of the Mint*, by *Minting* out of *Warble* by *Skylark*; and that Sir Tatton Sykes bought *Maid of the Mint* from Sir James Duke (who bred her) when she was already in foal to *Carbine*. Major Loder bought *Spearmint* as a yearling for only 300 guineas; and it is most interesting to note that the *Touchstone* blood he so worthily represents is also represented in successful steeplechasing sires like *Trenton* (through *Ithuriel*), *Hackler* (through *Petrarch* and *Newminster*), and *Timothy*, *Britannic* and *Ascetic* (through *Hermit* and *Newminster*). It would, indeed, be difficult to



BEND OR

From the painting by T. Adam in the possession of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton



SKULL OF BEND OR

In the British Museum of Natural History

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find any better steeplechasing sire than *Ascetic* in all the records of the sport ; and though the strain could be traced out in other lines, this will be a quite sufficiently striking example of the way in which *Eclipse* blood has shown its potency not merely on the flat, but in steeplechasing as well ; and soldiers will remember that the Duke of Wellington's famous Waterloo horse, *Copenhagen*, was by *Meteor*, a son of *Eclipse*. The Army has had many another share since then.

As I have spoken of the value of *Touchstone* blood, a curious detail is worth noting here about his skeleton, which is carefully preserved at Eaton. It has an extra rib in addition to the eighteen usually seen ; and it is a posterior rib, as Youatt pointed out was customary in cases where the additional bone is found. *Touchstone* certainly went very wide behind, and threw his hind legs very much as is described of *Eclipse* ; but his extra rib seems to have been rather a help than otherwise, and I am not aware how he became possessed of it or whether it was transmitted to any of his descendants. Scientific inquirers have satisfied themselves that horses whose ancestors have long been bred in Ireland are nearly always distinguished for their great development of bone, and for their clean, flat, hard legs. In spite of their proverbial ill-luck in the St. Leger, recent events on the English Turf have attracted great attention to the suitability of Ireland as a breeding place for thoroughbreds. Whether it will eventually give them an extra rib or not I do not know, but the good effect of Irish climate on bone is established. In fact, good horses are heard of in Ireland before they appear in English records. This is not merely a matter of blood. It may largely depend on the Irish limestone subsoil, to the excellence of which Sir Walter Gilbey has often drawn attention ; and if he is correct, the very interesting fact of the improvement of *Ithurial* blood by the residence of *Carbine* and *Musket* in Australia may very possibly be referred to the value of Australia's limestone pastures.

No other country has ever shown the improvement in

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imported English thoroughbred stock which has been shown in Ireland and Australia; and, of course, the value of Ireland has been discovered far more certainly, and for a much longer time, than in the case of Australia. This may be because it is damper. I can only think of the fact of rain and grass being plentiful in these islands as a real reason for our being able not only to breed the first fast horses for the Turf, but also to go on breeding the best horses, in spite of the fact that other countries enjoyed facilities precisely similar in every point except climate. Some countries are definitely known to be bad for breeding; and a mediæval Persian, quoted by Professor Ridgeway, expresses his astonishment at the birth of a young elephant in Teheran by exclaiming that "never till then had a she elephant borne young in Iran, any more than a lioness in Roum, a tabby cat in China, or a mare in India." Captain Hayes always said that Indian stock could never be kept up even at the present day but for constant importations. Breeding there is still as precarious as Marco Polo found it long before. The whole question of wild animals breeding in captivity is full of interest, and has no doubt considerable bearing on the breeding of Arab stock, whether pure or crossed with other blood. Some countries suit it not at all; other countries suit it even better than its ancestral Najd. Among these last England may most happily be numbered, and she stands apparently alone with Ireland.

That climate helped to produce *Eclipse* is certain. But how delicate was the combination of complicated factors necessary for his perfection may be gathered from the curious fact that another colt (*Hyperion*, later *Garrick*), bred by the same sire out of the same dam, turned out comparatively useless. It is therefore possible that the year when *Marske* was mated to *Spiletta* was itself propitious; and it may certainly be significant that their famous colt was named after the sympathetic disturbance of the heavenly bodies which took place at his birth in the Home Park of our English Kings.

CHAPTER III

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND AND THE ENGLISH TURF IN THE LAST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*Numquid praebebis equo fortitudinem? . . . procul odoratur bellum
exhortationem ducum, et ululatum exercitus*

English Life from 1745 to 1765—Its Strength and Colour in Literature, Politics and Art—"The Duke"—Marshall Saxe—Fontenoy—"Damn my Commission!"—The English Infantry—Culloden—Ranger of Windsor Park—Too much Politics—Gambling and Racing—The Jockey Club—Gentlemen Riders—Exclusive Membership—Mr. D'Arcy Hutton and Yorkshire Racing.

ECLIPSE was born in 1764, and died in 1789; and it would be difficult to pick out twenty-five years in the whole history of the Turf which were more important for the future development of racing, and more pregnant with those possibilities which resulted in the supremacy of the English Thoroughbred as the best horse in the world. That development was due not only to certain fortunate accidents in breeding, which even the keenest of modern biologists is unable wholly to explain, but also to the fact that these occurrences took place in various racing studs in England at a moment when English Society was peculiarly fitted to take advantage of them, owing to conditions of life and manners which had never been seen before and are never likely to be reproduced again.

There are many wonderful things about *Eclipse*, and

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not the least extraordinary is a persistence of his excellent qualities in the blood of his descendants which implies that the gratitude of owners in 1906 to the breeders of 1764 is no vain sentiment. The fifty years from about 1745 onwards will therefore be the legitimate object of our early inquiries in any consideration of the real meaning and value of *Eclipse's* life.

There must have been some prodigious spirit of fecundity in the air during that full-blooded period; and *Eclipse's* pre-eminence in the life-history of the horse is but a reflection of the enormous store of vital energy that seems to have animated and transfused the whole field of human activity in England and elsewhere during that fruitful epoch. I am not aware that any other animal, except the champion hound at Peterborough, can furnish a tenth part of the accurate knowledge as to the ramifications of descent and ancestry which is the common property of the English public concerning the horse which wins the Derby. Certainly very few human beings can trace their pedigrees back to so many generations without a possibility of error, and fewer still are the men whose upbringing and education has either cost so much or brought so widespread and satisfactory a return as may be observed in a first-rate and successful thoroughbred. We know all this well enough nowadays, even if we rarely realise it; but it is only possible for us at all because the racing men of 1750 saw their opportunity and took it, with a whole-heartedness that does as much credit to their foresight as to their sportsmanship and courage.

They were not men who were on the Turf for what they could make out of it. The gallant splendours of the Restoration had been shortlived, and occasionally unsavoury; but they set a fashion that never faded among a certain set, the set which went racing because it went everywhere, and raced hard because they lived hard every minute of their lives. No big fortunes had hitherto been made on the Turf. The gains of a Tregonwell Frampton would not have proved attractive to men who were utterly

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disinclined to use Tregonwell Frampton's means of making them. The men of 1750 betted on horses because they betted on everything, and they soon found that as an instrument of gambling the racehorse was admirably suited to their inclinations. Their passion for mere wagering was no doubt occasionally purified by the nobility of the animal which was its chief occasion. But we must not credit them with too high motives. They cared little for biology, and they knew less. Each meant to have a better horse than his neighbour, and they were as astonishingly in earnest about getting it as they were about every other form of gentlemanly dissipation.

It would be difficult to conceive a more exhilarating atmosphere than that of England in those days for a man of rank and fortune. The keenness of his enjoyment, and his thorough zest in life, are reflected in well-nigh every form of his activity that we can still admire. It was the age in which the influence of Samuel Johnson appropriately recalls the most typically English characteristics of all our men of letters, with the brilliant circle of his friends from Edmund Burke to Fanny Burney. Fielding's last years just reached it. Sterne wrote his "Tristram Shandy" for its somewhat bewildered roysterers. Richardson and Smollett were its novelists. "She Stoops to Conquer" revealed the wit of Goldsmith, and gave promise of the brilliancy of Sheridan so soon to come. Horace Walpole was delicately chaffing his contemporaries. Junius was mercilessly scourging their shortcomings.

In politics the great names of William Pitt, of Fox, of Burke, were in the mouths of all men. Those were the days when Lord Rockingham could win the St. Leger or form a Ministry with equal enthusiasm; when Lord North and Wilkes and Thurlow were making their mark deep in English history. Under the personal command of George II., Dettingen was won, and under his son, the Duke of Cumberland, the English infantry had given the first taste of their terrible quality in the defeat of Fontenoy. The string of victories at Minden, Lagos, Quiberon Bay,

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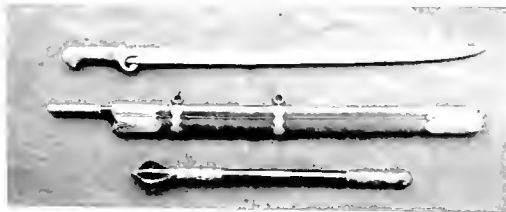
Guadaloupe, Ticonderoga and Quebec, the genius of Wolfe and Clive, the great siege of Gibraltar, held by Elliott, the heroic sea-fights of Anson, Boscawen, Hawke and Rodney, had lent their various lustre to the English flag. Art had its full share in this outburst of prolific energy. Upon the canvases of Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney, its great men and its lovely women are immortalised. In the very year before *Eclipse* first raced upon the English Turf the first meeting of the Royal Academy was held. Before the century was finished the English across the Atlantic had made themselves into a new nation, and the French across the Channel had marched through rapine and slaughter to the disintegration of their ancient forms of government. The whole earth seemed groaning and travailing with new births; and the population of England, so infinitely less in numbers than it is to-day, seemed infinitely more full of all that sturdy and robust enthusiasm which needs a fresher air and greater space for its expansion than our anæmic crowds can ever claim again.

The art and literature of the time faithfully reflect the politics and life of which they were so gorgeous a development. The world seemed made for the enjoyment of that brilliant aristocracy which had reached the culminating zenith of its vigour. Strongly entrenched within limits of its own devising, the best society could be absolutely reckless both in thought and speech; for every one knew everybody else, and every shot went home. Numerous enough to argue that their own desires were the best interests of the State, yet privileged enough to get the best of everything, its soldiers, writers, politicians, racing men held an opinion of themselves which is inconceivable in days when money counts for more than blood, and when the most desirable acquaintance is he who makes the fewest errors. Without any immediate necessity for making its living, society was content to gamble for it; and philosophic foreigners might well have imagined that this fair realm of England was little better than a vast casino from one end of the country to the other.



THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

Reider of Eclips



SWORD AND BATON OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

Preserved at Cumberland Lodge, in Windsor Great Park

ENGLISH TURF OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Among the best of them, the breeder of *Eclipse*, the owner of almost the finest racing stud in England, held a characteristic position that is significant of much. William Augustus, Baron of Alderney, Viscount Trematon, Earl of Kensington, Marquis of Berkhamstead, and Duke of Cumberland was the third son of George II. (then Prince of Wales) by Caroline, the daughter of John Frederic, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach. He was born in Leicester House, at the north-east corner of Leicester Square, whither George I.'s son had gone from St. James's Palace after the quarrel with his father; and in July 1726 he was made the first Knight Commander of the Bath on the revival of the order, receiving the Garter four years afterwards. Since the death of Queen Anne, whose horses were winning on the course at York on the very day she expired, the Duke of Cumberland was the first member of the Royal Family to distinguish himself in what was to take the lead in all English sports for many a year to come; and in this he foreshadowed not merely the somewhat spasmodic successes of George IV., as Prince of Wales, but the more lasting and meritorious triumphs of our present King Edward VII., the owner of *Persimmon*.

The Duke, as he was known in Horace Walpole's set, just as Wellington and no other was "the Duke" of later days, has been misunderstood and misrepresented for far too long, and it is high time that a more general appreciation of his real merits should take the place of ill-founded and prejudiced abuse. He soon made up his mind that the navy was no profession for an active man, after lying windbound for several weeks in the English Channel at the beginning of an expedition; and in 1740 he became a Colonel in the Coldstreams, attaining the rank of Major-General when he came of age. There was not much waiting about in the army in those days, and by the next year he had received a ball through the calf of his leg (which troubled him for the rest of his life) in the first line of the infantry at Dettingen. In 1744-5 he was the first soldier since the great Marlborough to be appointed

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Captain-General of the British land forces at home and in the field, and the comparison suggested is perhaps unfortunate ; for, without the genius of the conqueror of Ramillies and Blenheim, he had to meet a foe, worthy of Marlborough's own masterly generalship ; and all his undoubted personal courage could not quite fill up the fatal gap.

The name of Marshal Saxe was chiefly known to racing men in England, not only because he was the natural son of the lovely Aurora Königsmarck, sister of the murderer of poor Tom Thynne, but also because he once hurled an insolent scavenger into his own muck-cart on the road to Newmarket. On the steps of a throne, yet separated from it by an impassable gulf, Maurice de Saxe showed all the bold and enterprising ambition so often associated with the bar sinister, and combined great physical resources with the subtle intellect of the dreamer, and the sound knowledge of a trained general. The young English Duke, so suddenly called upon to oppose the flower of the French army under one of its greatest leaders, had little to depend upon save his own intrepid valour and his constant belief in the bulldog staunchness of the British infantry when led by men they trusted and fed with regularity. Steadfast, honest and just, it was recognised that he was unsparing both of his soldiers' lives and of his own efforts for their welfare. His general orders resemble those of Wellington's in their burning intolerance of faults in discipline or loyalty ; in their full-mouthed appreciation of the faithful soldier ; and though his military career was short and far from fortunate he had lasting claims upon the gratitude of Englishmen for his large share in forming that incomparable infantry which is the backbone of our military strength.

This is no place to tell again the oft-told tale of Fontenoy. But there are a few incidents typical alike of the hard brutality of that age and of its inexhaustibly reckless courage. The Duke was fortunate in having so useful (and so different) a friend beside him as John Ligonier, the courtly and valiant Huguenot, who had fought all through Marlborough's battles, and who made

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the 7th Dragoon Guards the most efficient regiment in the cavalry. There were blunders in the strategy and tactics of Fontenoy; but there was some glorious fighting, and it was one of the most murderous battles of the murderous eighteenth century. A dragoon in Ligonier's, after losing his charger, carried a firelock with the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and fought, under the Duke's eyes, in his jack-boots all day long. A private of the Black Watch slew nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and the Duke saw his arm carried off by a round shot while he was attacking the tenth. The same spirit animated all ranks. When Sir Robert Munro was parading his men at dawn, he observed their chaplain in the ranks with a drawn broadsword, and ordered him back on pain of losing his commission. "Damn my commission!" shouted the militant churchman, and fought in the front rank all day. It was the Black Watch again, who, when the Duke marked his appreciation of their services by bidding the men ask any favour they pleased, begged for a free pardon for two of their comrades who were to be flogged for letting some French prisoners escape. Saxe, himself, confessed that he had no infantry who could push into open ground in the teeth of a great body of cavalry without being once shaken by charges or once relaxing their discharge of musketry.

In these sombre days, when one khaki-clad army rarely sees its foes at all throughout a long engagement, we can scarcely imagine the splendour of the old scarlet lines glittering with flags. "We are the English Guards," shouted Lord Charles Hay, as his battalion emerged on the ridge crowned by the Redoubt d'Eu and held by the French Household Infantry, "and we hope you will stand till we come up to you," and his men gave three cheers with a will. The Duc de Brion, the Comte d'Anterroches, and other French officers hurried to the front, saluted, and called for counter cheers; they were given in a dazed way, and the French volley rang out. While the smoke cleared away our majors were seen coolly levelling the men's pieces with their spontoons. Then they poured in so terrible a hail of

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lead that the entire front rank of the French was swept away, and 700 men lay on the field wounded or dead. The huge English square remained invincible till every available French cannon was brought up and cut lanes through its solid mass with grape-shot; and at the crucial moment Saxe poured in his whole strength upon the reeling mass. Retreat was inevitable. The Duke exposed his life freely in rallying scattered units. Ligonier arranged the withdrawal with the greatest skill. We lost 7,500 officers and men. Even Voltaire confesses that the French casualties were over seven thousand.

One immediate consequence of Fontenoy was Prince Charles Edward's attempt to oust the Hanoverian dynasty. At Culloden the Duke of Cumberland crushed it with appalling thoroughness. "I had much rather," he told the regiments just before the action, "be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men than ten thousand among whom there are some who, by cowardice or misbehaviour, may dispirit or disorder the troops." The battle began at one on the afternoon of April 16, 1746, and was over in an hour. The Highlanders were beaten, and on both sides the motto of the fight was "Vae Victis." Lord George Murray had issued a general order, under Prince Charles Edward's instructions, "to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever." The spirit of the times was not in favour of weak measures, and the humanitarian doctrines, which preferred three years of protracted misery to one short and sharp campaign, had not yet proved acceptable. By filial affection, by dynastic interest, by his characteristic fury at all forms of insubordination, the Duke was undoubtedly inclined towards severity; and he was naturally blamed for much barbarity consequent on the rebels' defeat for which he was not responsible. Like Cromwell in Ireland, he was convinced that "mild measures won't do;" and he was far from mild. His discipline was as stern to friends as foes. "It is H.R.H. orders," he wrote on April 19 at Inverness, "that no man go above a quarter of a mile out of camp, several outrages and disorders having

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been committed which he will not permit on any account." When his own men disobeyed he ordered them "1200 lashes at the head of each brigade at five different times for marauding and stealing of meal," a horrible punishment, to which the fate of many a Highlander was preferable. War is a terrible business, and civil war is its worst form. But it was not till the political party opposed to his influence was using every dirty card in the pack that "the Duke" was called "the Butcher."

At first he was hailed as his country's saviour. In after years he used good-humouredly to set the exaggerated praise he received for Culloden against the exaggerated blame he got for Kloster Seven, and thought he had secured rough justice after all. In 1746 all England was in a blaze of loyalty. By next spring Horace Walpole was writing to H. S. Conway, who was in Flanders with the Duke: "I observed how the Duke's head had succeeded almost universally to Admiral Vernon's, as his head left but few traces of the Duke of Ormond's." A more permanent record of enthusiasm was the change of the name of Tyburn Gate to Cumberland Gate, in Hyde Park.

"I must own," wrote the conqueror of Culloden, "that you have hit my weak side when you say the honour of our troops is restored. That pleases beyond all other honours done me." His men knew it, as they always understand a leader who loves them; and they had barely wiped their sabres on the heather before they were shouting, "Now, Billy, for Flanders!" He had a short interval at home before going abroad again. Part of it he spent in arranging details of dress and discipline in the army, forbidding that any posts should be applied for except through himself. Part of it he spent at Windsor, where "he goes to races," writes one of Walpole's friends, "and they make a ring about him as at bear-baiting." Besides other rewards, including grants of money, colonelcies, chancellorships, and oratorios, he was made Ranger of Windsor Great Park on July 12, 1745, where, nineteen years afterwards, his

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fame as a breeder of thoroughbreds was to be imperishably connected with *Eclipse*.

In 1747 he was in the Low Countries again, and Marshal Saxe was again too much for him. That July Walpole was writing to Sir Horace Mann that "the Duke was very nearly taken, having, through his short sight, mistaken a body of French for his own people. He behaved as bravely as usual, but his prowess is so well established that it grows time for him to exert other qualities of a general." By 1748 the Duke was back in England, living sometimes at Cumberland Lodge, in Windsor Park, and sometimes at Cranbourne Lodge, close to the paddock where *Eclipse* was to be born later on, and where it may be suspected he spent some of the most contented hours of his life.

The death of the Prince of Wales removed certain elements of jealous opposition; but the refusal of the Regency (should such a post be necessary) mortified the Duke, and he cannot have been happy in politics, even with the friendship of Sandwich, Albemarle, Bedford and Henry Fox; for Newcastle was against him, and Pitt was with the Princess of Wales. But the Duke loved a good fighter. "I don't know him," he wrote once, "but by what you tell me Pitt is what is scarce, he is a man." Many absurd accusations were made about the Duke's using military power to usurp his brother's rights; but the King knew better. "He has a head to guide, to rule, and to direct," said George II., and made him one of the Lords Justices while the King himself was in Hanover.

Gossiping Horace gives us a few pleasant sidelights on the sporting side of the Duke's character about this time. At the Richmond Fireworks, for instance (May 1749), "the Duke had the music into the garden and himself, with my Lady Lincoln, Mrs. Pitt, Peggy Banks and Lord Holderness, entertained the good subjects with singing 'God save the King' to them over the rails of the terrace." There was cricket at Richmond, too, and it is a noteworthy coincidence that the "Star and Garter" in Pall Mall, where the Jockey Club held its first meetings in 1752, was also the



THE STABLES OF CUMBERLAND LODGE, WINDSOR GREAT PARK

ENGLISH TURF OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

scene of a revival of "the laws of cricket" in 1774. Lord Mountford was an enthusiastic pioneer, if Walpole be correct in telling us of his "making cricket matches and fetching up parsons by express (in 1749) from different parts of England to play on Richmond Green; of his keeping aides-de-camp to ride to all parts to lay bets for him at horseraces, and of twenty other peculiarities." The fact is that there was more gambling going on than has ever been the case before or since. I must not digress too much on other forms of sport, or I should like to speak of the Duke's patronage of prize-fighting, and especially of Broughton, whose name has so often been connected with early records of Doggett's Coat and Badge, as well as with the old P. R. But typical examples must be here sufficient. Horace is again our authority for a significant little hunting-scene (Jan. 1750): "As the Duke has taken a turn of gaming, Sandwich, to make his court—and fortune—carries a box and dice in his pocket, and so they throw a main whenever the hounds are at fault, upon every green hill and under every green tree." A year or two later, the same excellent correspondent, who has far too little (for my own taste) to say about racing, speaks of "Newmarket, where the Duke of Cumberland is at present making a campaign, with half the nobility and half the money of England attending him, they really say that not less than a hundred thousand pounds have been carried thither for the hazard of this single week. The palace has been furnished for him."

"The palace" is probably "Palace House," where Mr. Leopold de Rothschild lives to-day when he actively carries on those great family traditions on the Turf which his own successes have done so much to illustrate. Beneath the level of the present entrance you may still see the arches Evelyn admired, and the great iron-studded door that opened for the jovial courtiers of Charles II. In 1753, the date of the last letter I quoted, the Jockey Club had already been for twelve months the tenants of Mr. Errall, in a "Coffee-Room" at Newmarket, and the

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first public mention of the new association, which is to be found in Mr. John Pond's "Sporting Kalendar," evidently presupposes its familiarity to his readers, for he makes the simple announcement for 1752 of "a contribution free plate by horses the property of noblemen and gentlemen belonging to the Jockey Club," and by the May Meeting of 1753 two "Jockey Club Plates" were being regularly run for. The list of members revealed by these and similar races run for between this year and 1773, the date when the "Racing Calendar" was first produced by James Weatherby, "Keeper of the Matchbook," gives a very significant indication of the aims and purposes of a club whose actual foundation has escaped the vigilance of all subsequent historians.

Man had discovered he was a sociable animal in the reign of Queen Anne; and the Clubs of the early Georges were but the logical consequence of the friendly but less formal meeting-places of Steele and Addison. Racing men who met each other at White's or Brooks's were naturally inclined to reproduce in Newmarket the advantages they had enjoyed in St. James's. On the Turf, indeed, in those early days, the necessity for some form of union was but a prudent course of self-defence under conditions far more open to the incursion of "the undesirable" than was any house near Piccadilly. The indifference to racing which distinguished the throne after the death of Queen Anne made it even more essential to reproduce those social safeguards which had existed under the Stuarts, when Sir John Carleton had the Royal authority to remove undesirable persons from "those places which the King reserves for his own sport." The briefest reference to the archives of Charles II., when the State-papers are as full of racing as they are of diplomacy, will establish the important fact that he not only went to Newmarket to look on, but also to ride his own horses, which the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth did as well. It is therefore most probable that some informal arrangement had long existed by which

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appropriate "jockeys" were provided to ride against such illustrious owners; and the pleasant habit was not likely to die out when such capital horsemen existed as the Duke of Queensberry, the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Wilton, Sir Henry Featherstonhaugh, Mr. Brand, Mr. Jenison, Mr. Shafto and many more. It is certain, at any rate, that for the first few years of the Jockey Club "Cup" or "Plate" or "Subscription," owners rode their own horses. With their presence the accepted traditions about keeping the course clear of unwelcome intruders would naturally survive in their full strength; and neither authority nor precedent would be wanting, in case of awkward questions, when the details of so much racing could be referred to among the National Records. It is, at any rate, possible to discover both an origin and a justification for the Jockey Club in Royal racing; and it is significant that the Duke of Cumberland was among its earliest adherents, and that it has never been without a member of the Royal Family upon its rolls from that day to this.

Far more important objects than the merely formal details of organisation at Newmarket soon emerged as the Club grew in strength and realised the personality and powers of an association of men of wealth and distinction animated by a common love of sport. It seems, indeed, as if the machinery of the Turf had been just got into working order in time to make the best use of the greatest horse ever bred in this or in any other country. The twenty-five years of *Eclipse's* life just coincide with the all-important years of the Jockey Club's expansion, and with the dates when those classical races (the Derby, Oaks and St. Leger) were founded to set the seal of the highest racing honours on *Eclipse's* descendants for six score years and more to come. For the breeding of bloodstock became the greatest bond of union between the sportsmen of the North and South who met in the Jockey Club, and the proceedings of that organisation became more and more influential in every form of racing just at a time

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when England was ripe for the crystallisation of the numerous efforts towards sport of every kind that were visible all over the country. Based upon such traditions, founded upon respect for precedent in obedience to the dictates of experience, the power of the Club grew slowly but strongly wherever racing was beloved. Its rulings were quoted, its decisions were accepted. The gradual development of its importance and possessions at Newmarket followed the lines of equity and common sense so carefully that the "warning-off," once sufficiently established by Royal precedent, was by 1827 legally recognised in the case of the Duke of Portland *v.* Hawkins, when a man to whom they objected was successfully proceeded against for trespass on the freehold property of the Club.

Whatever criticisms might be prompted by the envy of such successful outsiders as, I fear, Colonel O'Kelly, the constitution of the Club cannot fairly be called in question. They rightly determined to raise at least one barrier which wealth alone could not surmount; and if their composition in these early days be analysed it will be found that their members were chiefly drawn from both Houses of Parliament and from all the great owners of the best thoroughbred stock which is now the foundation of the English Stud Book. It is enough to say that, at one time or another, the owners of *Matchem*, *Herod* and *Eclipse* were all members of the Jockey Club; and it is the chief distinction of the Duke of Cumberland's racing career that to him belonged *Herod* and *Eclipse*, two out of those three great sires from whom all our racehorses have since descended, and that he owned *Eclipse's* sire and dam, and the dam of *Herod* as well. No man can fairly be said to have done more for English Racing.

In 1752 the race, in which I detect the beginnings of the Jockey Club, was won by Sir John Moore, who beat Captain Vernon, Lord Byron and Lord Chedworth, owners up. The Jockey Club vindicated its name once more in the same way when Captain Vernon won again (R.C. 12st., best of three four-mile heats) in 1754, against Lord March,



MATCHEM

From a print in the possession of Mr. Somerville Tollerall

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Lord Orford, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Shafto, with owners up as before. On that same day the Duke of Cumberland won the first race I can find to his name at Newmarket, against Lord Gower's colt by *Shock* (8st. 9lbs., 4 miles over the B.C. for 300 guineas) with his famous brown horse *Marske*, which he bought from that celebrated Yorkshire squire, Mr. John D'Arcy Hutton, from whose estate, near Richmond, this hardy son of *Squirt* was named. His great-grandsire, on the dam's side, was *Hutton's Bay Barb* (imported), and further back in his pedigree occur the names of the *D'Arcy Yellow Turk*, the *D'Arcy White Turk*, *Miss D'Arcy's Pet Mare*, *Hutton's Grey Barb*, and *Hutton's Royal colt*. So the Yorkshire family, which still owns the same estate, has a very large share in the breeding of the most famous thoroughbred of all time, for *Marske* was sire of *Eclipse*. The Marske stables have a fine record in the early years of the Chester Cup; and in Yorkshire races, of which details are preserved in Orton's "Turf Annals," the name of Mr. Hutton occurs very frequently between 1742 and 1770, in which latter year *Eclipse* appeared at York. I find it, for instance, at York in 1742 (gr. h. *Hussar* and gr. h. *Phantom* by *Hobgoblin*); York, 1743; York, 1744 (ch. c. *Partnership* by *Partner*); York, 1745 (b. h. *Wormwood* by *Blacklegs*); York, 1746, winner of the £50 plate for four-year-olds (gr. c. *Merryman* by *Spot*); Malton, 1747, winner of His Majesty's 100 guineas for five-year-old mares (b. *Mab* by *Hobgoblin*); York, 1749 (gr. h. *Peeper*); Hambleton, 1754 (ch. m. by *Mogul*); York, 1754 (b. h. *Steady* by *Spot*); York, 1755, winner of a sweepstakes of 500 guineas, for five-year-olds at 9st., 4 miles (ch. m. *Stately* by *Bolton Mogul*); York, 1756; York, 1757 (b. h. *Orphan* by *Tartar*, gr. h. *Speedwell* by *Spot*, b. f. *Vixen* by *Regulus* and gr. h. *Bustler* by *Tartar*); York, 1758; Doncaster, 1758 (gr. c. *Careless* and gr. h. *Bustler* by *Rib*); York, 1759, winner of the Great Subscription of £234 10s. for five-year-olds, 10st., 4 miles (br. h. *Silvio* by *Cade*); York, 1760; Hambleton, 1761 (b. m. *Daphne* by *Regulus*); York, 1761 (b. c. by *Cade*);

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York, 1762 (br. f. *Portia* by *Regulus*); Hambleton, 1763; York, 1763; York, 1764 (b. c. *Lofty* by *Regulus*, b. h. *Foxhunter* by *Regulus*, ch. h. *Ranger* by *Regulus*, and b. c. *Hazard* by *Devonshire Steady*).

At this last meeting, in August, the Duke of Cumberland made the only appearance I can trace on a northern race-course, when the br. h. *Dumpling* by *Cade* (aged) ran last for the great Subscription of £311 10s. for six-year-olds, 8st. 7lbs., aged 9st., 4 miles, which was won by Mr. Stapleton's b. h. *Beaufremont* by *Tartar* (6 years). At York, in 1748, is also recorded the first appearance of Lord March, the famous Duke of Queensberry, who was to gain great notoriety as "Old Q." in later years. He rode his own *Whipper-in* to victory in a match for 80 guineas (10st.), 4 miles, and was also in the saddle when his br. g. *Smoker* won the Hunters Sweepstakes two days later. At this meeting the £50 Plate was won by Mr. Coatesworth's ch. h. *Partner*, who afterwards became famous as the Duke of Ancaster's *Tartar* (by Crofts' *Partner* out of *Meliora* by *Fox*), the sire of *Herod*, and of O'Kelly's famous mare, the dam of *Volunteer*, *Queen Mab*, and many of *Eclipse's* best descendants. On the same course, in 1753, Mr. Fenwick's br. h. *Matchem* (by *Cade*) won the Great Subscription Stakes. He was bred by Mr. John Holme of Carlisle, sold to Mr. Fenwick of Bywell, and lived till 1781 (33 years) after making a handsome sum in stud fees for his owner. Here, too, ran the last of the immortal trio, *Herod* (by *Tartar*), who broke a blood-vessel in his head in the last mile of the Great Subscription of 1766 (4 miles), which *Bay Malton* (by *Sampson*) is said to have won in the fast time of 7 mins. 43½ secs. At that time *Herod* had passed into the possession of Sir John Moore, after the Duke of Cumberland's death, at the same sale which passed *Eclipse* on to "the astute meat-salesman," Mr. Wildman.

Completing Mr. Hutton's Yorkshire racing record up to the year when *Eclipse* himself was astonishing the Tykes, I find Mr. Hutton's name again at York in 1765; York, 1768 (b. m. *Betty-O!* by *Matchless*) at the same



HEROD

From an engraving after the painting by Colpin

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meeting in which Sir Charles Bunbury's famous little grey, *Gimcrack*, ran for the Great Subscription ; and Doncaster 1769 (ro. h. *Navigator* by *Adolphus*). I have given Mr. Hutton's entries in some detail for two reasons : they show very clearly the beginnings of that friendly rivalry between North and South which the Jockey Club did so much to foster ; and they reveal a very curious preference for grey horses in the Marske Stud.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUKE'S FRIENDS AND THEIR HORSES

Equi amatores et emissarii facti sunt. Unusquisque ad uxorem proximi sui hinniebat.

A Royal Racing Stable—Newmarket in 1757—The Duke's Racing up to the week of his Death—Racing Colours in 1762—The Younger Duke a different Man—Resignation of Military Duties—George II.'s Funeral—Schomberg House—The Duke's Death—His Papers destroyed—Lord Rockingham—The Duke of Queensberry—Charles James Fox—Results of a Wager—Defeat of the Government—"Equam memento . . ."—Lady Sarah Lennox—*Gimcrack*—Lord Grosvenor—Lady Susan O'Brien—The Reverse side of the Picture.

IN the last chapter I spoke of the victory of the Duke of Cumberland's *Marske* at Newmarket in 1754. It is obvious from Walpole's Letters that he had raced there a good deal before; but before the foundation of the Jockey Club the records are both scanty and uncertain. In 1755, however, it is certain that Lord Sandwich got back a little of those loyal losses to which Horace referred by the victory of his *Snaph* over *Marske*, for 1000 guineas, over four miles of the Beacon Course at 10st. in April, and by repeating exactly the same performance in May for the same bet. It will be convenient to add here examples of other races in which the Duke took part from this time until his death in October 1765. Queen Anne's horses were winning in Yorkshire on the day of her death, and news of George IV.'s favourites were brought to him from the course as he lay dying; so it is well in accordance with royal traditions that the Duke of Cumberland should have

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raced at Newmarket up to within the last week of his life ; and it is only natural that we should find him owning such capital animals as *Dumpling* and *Dapper* (by *Cade*), *Dorimond* (by *Dormouse*), *Star*, *Cato* (by *Regulus*), *Miss Windsor*, *Miss Godolphin*, *Milksop* (by *Crab*), *Herod*, and many more. The entries which follow will all refer to Newmarket unless otherwise stated.

In April 1757 the Duke's colt by the *Cullen Arabian* was last in a match for 600 guineas (8st. B.C.) against Lord Orford and Lord Granby ; and another black colt of his was beaten under the same conditions by a bay son of the *Godolphin Arabian*, belonging to Mr. Panton. In May he lost another match of 500 guineas (9st. B.C.) to Lord Rockingham, who ran a bay son of *Regulus* called *Remus*. In 1758 he was again rather unlucky, for he only won one match. Lord Granby beat him in the sweepstakes of 1200 guineas (4 years, 9st., R.C.), and he also lost 500 guineas to Lord Gower, the same to Lord Portmore, and 1000 guineas to Lord Rockingham, all in matches over the Beacon Course in the spring. His only consolation, in October, was beating the Duke of Bridgewater's b. h. *Cracker* with his black *Moro* (9st., B.C., 500 guineas). In 1759 his bay filly *Sylvia* (by the *Godolphin Arabian*) and his *Rib* were both beaten ; but he won with *Moro*, who gave Lord Marsh's *Rose* 1st. 4lbs. over four miles for 500 guineas, and with *Dapper*, who received 16lbs. from Lord Gower's *Shock*, over the Beacon Course for the same amount. *Moro* tried *Rose* again with a pound less difference, and was beaten.

In 1760 the Duke won with a *Regulus* colt against Sir James Lowther (9st., B.C., 500 guineas), but lost everything else, including a match with *Dapper* against Mr. Shafto's *Squirrel* ; with *Moro* against Lord Gower's *Pharaoh* ; with *Jolter* against Lord Bolingbroke's *Luster* ; and with a *Keppel Barb* filly against the Duke of Devonshire's filly by his Arabian. All but the last were over the Beacon Course. In 1761 his only victories were with *Cato* (by *Regulus*) against Mr. Shafto's *Alcides* (by *Babraham*, 9st., 4 miles), for 1000 guineas, and Lord March's *Gallein*, 8st. 7lbs., B.C., 500

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guineas; but the same animal was beaten over the Beacon Course by Lord March's *Skim* filly, carrying a feather, and by the same owner's *Creampot* (by *Buffcoat*). His unsuccessful horses that year were a colt by the Hampton Court Childers, *Dapper* (who paid forfeit), and his colts by *Regulus* and the *Keppel Barb*. Next year his *Dorimond*, a fine bay by *Dormouse*, began the Spring Meeting by beating the Duke of Grafton's *Arab*, and in May his *Horatius* (by *Blank*) 6 years, won a match against Sir John Moore's son of *Slouch*, and another against Lord Grosvenor's *Leeds*, both over the Beacon Course. But a colt he entered for the sweepstakes, by his own *Arabian*, came in last, and seven other of his horses were beaten in one race or another, including such good ones as *Dapper* (by *Cade*) and *Dumpling*, who also lost the King's Plate at the First Spring Meeting of 1763, and a match for 1000 guineas over the Beacon Course in October, carrying 9st. against the 7st. 10lb. of Lord Rockingham's *Prospero*. But the Duke certainly had better luck this year; for *Dumpling* beat Mr. Shafto's *Crimp* and son of *Snaf*, both over the Beacon Course, for a good wager; and the Duke also beat Sir James Lowther's colt by Wilson's Arabian, Lord Gower's sister to *Pharaoh*, the Duke of Ancaster's *Blank* filly (a sweepstakes of 500 guineas, over the Beacon Course, which the Duke won with his famous *Tartar* filly), Sir James Lowther's colt by the Wilson Arabian, and the Duke of Ancaster's colt by *Blank*. He lost with the *Tartar* filly (against Lord March) and the *Regulus* colt.

It will be interesting to add here that on October 4 1762 the following colours were registered at the meeting of the Jockey Club at Newmarket :

H.R.H. Duke of Cumberland	.	.	Purple
Duke of Grafton	.	.	Sky blue
Duke of Devonshire	.	.	Straw colour
Duke of Northumberland	.	.	Yellow
Duke of Kingston	.	.	Crimson
Duke of Ancaster	.	.	Buff
Duke of Bridgewater	.	.	Garter blue

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Marquis of Rockingham	Green
Earl of Waldegrave	Deep red
Earl of Orford	Purple and white
Earl of March	White
Earl of Gower	Blue
Viscount Bolingbroke	Black
Lord Grosvenor	Orange
Sir John Moore, Bt.	Darkest green
Sir James Lowther, Bt.	Orange
Mr. R. Vernon	White
Hon. Mr. Greville	Brown trimmed with yellow
Mr. Jenison Shafto	Pink

No doubt these were the most prominent owners against whom the Duke of Cumberland raced all his life. In 1764 he signalled the year of *Eclipse's* birth by beginning well at the Spring Meeting by winning with a son of *Young Cade* and a bay horse by *Tartar*, who beat his brother, owned by Sir James Moore, over the Beacon Course. At Ascot on June 25 that celebrated stallion, *King Herod*, carried the Duke's colours in first in a four-mile match against Lord Rockingham's *Tom Tinker*, 8st. 7lbs., 1000 guineas; and at Newmarket in October, where the first race was won by the Duke's *Babraham* filly, which meant a thousand guineas out of Mr. Panton's pocket, *King Herod* beat the Duke of Grafton's *Antinous*, giving him 3lbs., over the Beacon Course, for 500 guineas, the betting being 6 to 4 on *Antinous*. The only horses from the Duke's stables that lost were the unlucky *Dumpling* (beaten by Mr. Greville's *Exotic*) and the *Babraham* filly. In 1765 the Duke's colours were seen for the last time; and while he had breath left he raced. The year began ominously with the defeat of *Dumpling* (by Mr. Shafto's *Flyfax*), *Selim*, and *Favourite*. But at the May Meeting *King Herod*, giving away 9lbs. this time, again beat *Antinous* over the B.C. for double the stakes, and again the betting was 7 to 4 on the Duke of Grafton's horse. But *Gift* was unsuccessful; apart from *Herod's* victory the meeting was chiefly notable for Lord Bolingbroke's success with the celebrated *Gimcrack*, 5 years, 7st. 4lbs., over

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Mr. Panton's *Rocket*, 8st. 7lbs., B.C., 1000 guineas. *Gimcrack* won again in July against Sir J. Lowther's *Ascham*, by *Regulus*, 7st. 10lbs.; but was beaten in a match which roused a great deal of interest in October, when he failed to give 7lbs. over the Beacon Course to Lord Rockingham's *Bay Malton*. The excellence of *Ascham* may be judged from the fact that at the Second October Meeting he beat *King Herod*, who, it is true, had to give him a stone over the Beacon Course, but even then started with 3 to 1 betted on him. On October 23, the Duke of Cumberland's last day of racing, in the last week of his life, his bay colt *Claudius* lost to the Duke of Ancaster's *Trophy*, but his *Sultan*, by *Regulus*, won a match at 9st., B.C., 500 guineas, against the Duke of Bridgewater's *Boreas*.

Unfortunately the Duke of Cumberland was not wholly able to divide his vigorous enthusiasms between soldiering and racing. Before his short life ended he was to have far more "politics" in it than he liked.

It is as well to warn those who are not professed historians that many stories are told of him which should properly be referred to a very different person, Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, born the fourth son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1771. This is the young reprobate against whom Lord Grosvenor (who was as unlucky as Sir Charles Bunbury in his marital relations) had to bring an action for criminal conversation, and of whom it is told that he explained the attitude of a high dignitary of the Church in the following words to a meeting of the Tory peers: "It's all right, my lords; the Archbishop says he will be damned to hell if he doesn't throw out the bill." It was also chiefly due to this man's marriage with Mrs. Horton that the Royal Marriage Act was passed, which was to have so grave an influence on the fortunes of his friend the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Duke William Augustus, "*the Duke*," as he was rightly called, with whom I am at present dealing, though by no means immaculate, was a far finer man; for he was "gentlemanlike without affectation and accomplished without being



GEM RACK

From the painting by Sattaratus in the possession of Julian Simpson, Esq.

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vain." He took the praises after Culloden and the execration after the Mutiny Act with equal calmness. He only betrayed some feeling when his name was omitted from the Regency Bill. To the common people he was invariably indifferent, and they were his sincerest mourners after he was dead. But I cannot think that the worries of Cabinet intrigue were congenial to him. He was certainly physically unfitted for them, and Horace Walpole does not fail to make merry over the corpulence which eventually killed him, and was largely owing to the wound he got at Dettingen. The Duke's nickname among the smart set in 1754 was "Nolkejumskoi," probably for the same ephemeral and absurd reasons which will make editors of our memoirs (in the next century) wonder what polite society in 1905 meant by their constant references to "Little Mary." Horace mentions the Duke at a supper in Bedford House: "He was playing at hazard with a great heap of gold before him. Somebody said he looked like the prodigal son and the fatted calf both." A kinder observation appears in the same correspondence a year or two later: "The humours that have fallen upon the wound in his leg kept him lately from all exercise. Can one but pity him? . . . How he must envy his cousin of Prussia, risking his life every hour against Cossacks and Russians."

The Duke had been unlucky in the field ever since Culloden, and the fatal spell first felt at Fontenoy was exercised again as soon as he returned to the Low Countries and Germany. Being sent against Marshal D'Estrées who threatened Hanover, he was beaten by an army double as large as his own at Hastenbeck, and retired in good order. After this the King told Newcastle he should "get out of it;" but after the Duke had acted on the Royal orders and the Convention of Kloster Seven was signed, "Here is my son," said George II., "who has ruined me and disgraced himself." The Duke was deeply wounded and withdrew to Cumberland Lodge after resigning all his military offices. Walpole at least appreciated all that this involved ("Memoirs of George II."): "A young prince,

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warm, greedy of military glory, yet resigning all his passions to the interested dictates of a father's pleasure, and then loaded with the imputation of having acted basely without authority; hurt with unmerited disgrace, yet never breaking out into the least unguarded expression; preserving dignity under oppression and the utmost tenderness of duty under the utmost delicacy of honour—this is an uncommon picture.”

When the Duke could tear himself away from his ruling passion, the army, we may judge how deeply his father had wounded “the best son that ever lived.”

Three years afterwards he was following his father's body to the grave. Walpole gives a pathetic picture of the scene in a letter to George Montagu: “The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark brown adonis and a cloak of black cloth with a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father could not be pleasant; his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it near two hours; his face bloated and distorted with his late paralytic stroke, which has affected, too, one of his eyes; and placed over the mouth of the vault into which in all probability he must himself so soon descend; think how unpleasant a situation! He bore it all with a firm and unaffected countenance . . . sinking with the heat, he felt himself weighed down, and turning round found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing on his train to avoid the chill of the marble.”

The Duke gave up his share in his father's bequest to his sisters, and took Schomberg House in Pall Mall. It is a curious and interesting coincidence that H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein, who now holds the Duke's position as Ranger of Windsor Park, and lives in Cumberland Lodge, has also Schomberg House in Pall Mall for his town house, though his present residence is only a part of that large mansion built in Pall Mall for the favourite of William III., the Duke of Schomberg, who was killed at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. From his son-in-law, the



THE YOUNG DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

By Gainsborough

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Earl of Holderness, the Duke of Cumberland leased it, and it then passed on to "Beau Astley," the portrait painter, who married the rich Lady Daniell and set up the *bas-relief* of "Painting" over the porch with the Caryatides, which was part of the old War Office in 1906. The symbol was significant; for though Dr. Graham desecrated the site with "Temples of Hymen" and "Celestial Beds," in 1781, in 1786 the Prince of Wales was calling on Cosway there (by a private door from the garden of Carlton House), and from 1774 till 1788 Gainsborough lived in the west wing. Then the place housed a "Collection of Miniatures" which were finally sold by lottery, and Tom Payne the Bookseller, who came in 1806, was the last tenant before the War Office.

The Duke of Cumberland soon found that politics were thrust upon him. With the new King, his nephew, he was on the best of terms; and he remained a warm friend to Lord Albemarle, whose wife he almost kissed in the Drawing Room after the Royal congratulations on the victory of Havannah. But he found himself obliged to break with Fox and to oppose Bute and Greville, leaning rather towards the side of Pitt, "who is at least a man." His negotiations with Pitt, who had the gout, at Hayes, resulted in the formation of the Rockingham Ministry, which held its Cabinet Councils at the Duke's new house in Upper Grosvenor Street. His health, unfortunately, continued to grow worse. He held the candle while the surgeon cut out abscesses from his wounded leg; and during the Newmarket October Meeting, when *Herod* beat *Antinous*, he had two fits. But next February he was seen at the new Assembly Rooms at Almacks, "built with hot bricks and boiling water," and he had held a *levée* and gone to the opera before that. On the last day of October, 1765, he died suddenly, from a clot of blood on the brain, in Lord Albemarle's arms, just as a Cabinet Council was about to be held in Upper Grosvenor Street.

"His profound understanding," wrote Walpole ("Memoirs of George III.") "had taught him to profit of

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his mortifications; and though he never condescended to make himself amiable but to very few, he became as much respected, though deprived of power, as if his heroism had been victorious. . . . In London his death was deeply felt . . . the middling and lower people almost universally went into the closest mourning with weepers, and wore it for the whole time that had been customary before the contraction enjoined in the late reign."

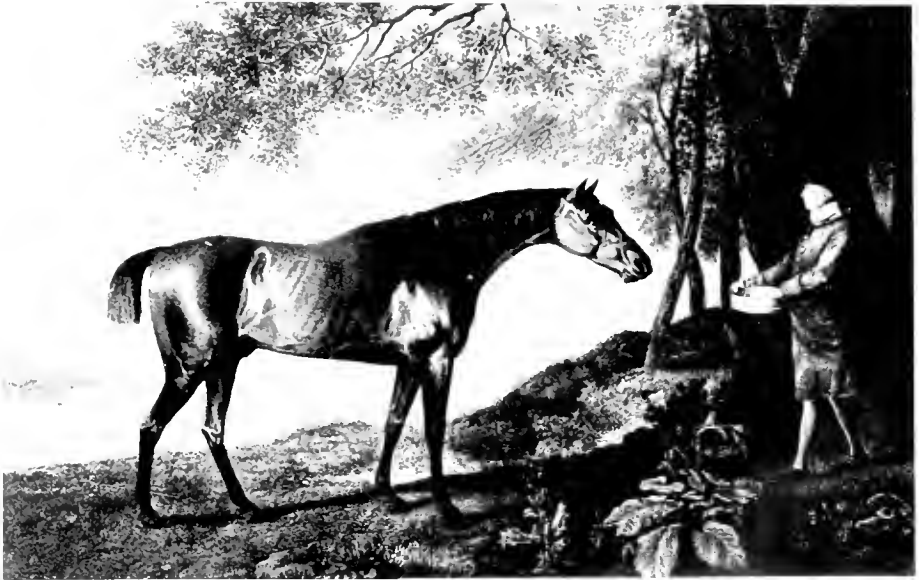
In his "Life of Rockingham," Lord Albemarle records that "with the exception of a few letters in my possession all the Duke's papers were burned" by the Princess Amelia, to whom most were sent. The Cumberland Papers in the library of Windsor Castle refer only to military matters, so that much that would be of interest concerning *Eclipse* is unavoidably lost. But the Duke's name is preserved in that Lodge in Windsor Park which is now filled with pictures of the racehorses he loved; and his memory is almost equally cherished upon the Berkshire Downs, where in a Manor House library I have seen the old oak writing-desk, as solid as its first master, in which the Duke may have kept his racing memoranda. If they had not been long ago in ashes I should have had a more interesting tale to tell. I must add here, also, that Cumberland Farm at Plaistow, Essex, still stands in a rather dilapidated condition among fields where tradition says that *Eclipse* was once stabled, and the connection is still further emphasised by the names of Cumberland Road and Eclipse Road in the same vicinity, which has for many years been the property of the Worshipful Company of Coopers. Into the vexed question of the actual birthplace of *Eclipse* I shall enter in the next chapter. For the present I have only to complete that picture of the racing world into which *Eclipse* was born, and in which *Eclipse's* owner bore a brilliant and characteristic part.

This was a period when statesmen were just as much in earnest about racing as about diplomacy; and we may be sure that Lord Rockingham was as delighted with *Alabaculia's* victory at Doncaster in 1776 as with any of his



THE WELL-GAP AT NEWMARKET

From an engraving in the British Museum



SHARKE (BY MARSKE OUT OF A SNAP MARE)

From an engraving in the possession of Sir Walter Gilbey after the painting by Stubbs

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Ministerial successes. The mare won the Sweepstakes that year which were afterwards to be known under the famous name of the St. Leger, and the rest of the field were owned by Mr. St. Leger himself, Mr. Wentworth, and Mr. Foljambe. It was the first stake ever run for three-year-olds at Doncaster, and on its third renewal, in 1778, Lord Rockingham named it after the gentleman with whom it had originated. Lord Rockingham's name appears on the Jockey Club's first public document, in 1758. He owned *Sampson* and *Solon*, and beat *Cardinal Puff* for the Whip at Newmarket with *Bay Malton* in 1768. Some years before he was beaten himself by another Yorkshire member, Sir Charles Turner, over the Beacon Course for 500 guineas; and he very likely suggested the name of Lord Barrymore's *Rockingham*, who won the Jockey Club Plate of 1788. Another early member of the Club was the Hon. Richard Vernon, owner of *Woodpecker*; and one of the few manuscripts remaining that refers to the Duke of Cumberland's racing is the memorandum of the wager Mr. Vernon laid at Windsor, in June 1762, with the Duke's *Dapper*, one four-mile heat against his own nomination, over Harleydon Course, at 8st. 7lbs.

Among the most original and eccentric characters who ever astonished a racecourse, I suppose "Old Q." must easily take the first place, as he usually managed to do in most things until he was buried beneath the high altar in St. James's, Piccadilly. He is typical of the utter disregard for public opinion common in the aristocrat of that time, who knew he would be understood by his own set and cared nothing for anybody else. But what made the Duke of Queensberry peculiar, even in his young days as Lord March, was not the persistent pursuit of pleasure, in which he only imitated the majority of his intimates, but the cold-blooded reasonableness and hard commonsense with which he pursued and attained his ends: a quality which is rather rare in your merely reckless voluptuary. His coldness was that of the business man, not of the selfish profligate; for he often quietly pulled a friend out of a financial difficulty;

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and Alcibiades Jennings, even after he had been ruined by gambling, acknowledged that "Queensberry was always honourable in his bets, only he was a far better jockey than any of us;" and "Old Q." enjoyed beating a friend over a wager until the very end of a long life, which lasted till he was eighty-six, in 1810. His celebrated carriage-match to run nineteen miles in sixty minutes, or his conveyance of a letter fifty miles in an hour—which he managed by enclosing it in a cricket-ball that four and twenty players threw to each other round a measured distance—and other feats of a more eccentric kind, concerned with what were tolerantly called the "Fine Arts," have somewhat obscured his real racing excellences by emphasising the extravagances of a career that would be impossible under modern conditions, and is almost incredible even in his days.

Far more sympathetic to the merely human reader is the character of Charles James Fox, another racing politician of this picturesque epoch, who passed at once, by right of personality and birth alike, beyond barriers across which even Burke and Sheridan never stepped. He was part of the highest circle from the first, and "Charles" to the Prince of Wales and all the rest. Remembering his extraordinary superiority in intellect, you will realise how much this means; and if his marvellous "genius for friendship" is added to it, you will understand still better what a man this was who could strain nearly all his friendships long past the point where lesser men would long ago have lost them. He half ruined every one connected with him, and their love never lessened, for his qualities were those not of intellect only, but of temperament as well. Enjoying to the full all that London or Paris could afford; deep in a classic, and loth to leave its pages; moving the House of Commons or an illiterate mob with equal triumph; betting at Brooks's or keeping a bank at Faro at Lord Foley's; content either to "pot partridges" or to go to Newmarket, either to move a resolution against the Ministry or to drink claret until every one else was under the table—much of it was unwise, but "Damme! it was Life" indeed!

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Fox raced as hard as he did everything else, and there is a little sketch of a few days out of his life at this time, which I have reconstructed from various sources, to give some idea of what men could do in those days. When they slept I know not.

There was some little wager in St. James's, it appears, about a waistcoat which could only be procured in Paris. Off went Charles in the middle of the night to Dover, caught the mail-packet, and posted hard to Paris. On his return to Calais he suddenly remembered that *Pyrrhus* and *Trentham*, two capital animals owned by Lord Foley and himself, had been backed to beat another horse at Newmarket. He leapt into a fishing-smack, steered for the Eastern Counties, just got to Newmarket in time, sent for his grooms, and took up a good place about a quarter of a mile from the finish. An eye-witness describes what followed, and it must be remembered that Fox usually looked on from horseback. "He eyed the horses advancing with the most immovable look; he breathed quicker as they accelerated their pace, and when they came opposite to him he rode in at full speed, whipping, spurring, and blowing, as if he would have infused his whole soul into his favourite racer." The instant they were past the post he was talking of something else, and as he posted back to London with his friends that afternoon they stopped on the way, probably to look up some one else at Hockerel. Dinner was ready in a moment, and out came the cards after the port. Minor considerations about time and space had long ago vanished, and there was a total of some four or five thousand on the table as the sun rose and they heard a horse galloping up the drive, and a loud knock at the door. It was a luckless Special Messenger who had been chasing Charles over half England to remind him that he was expected to speak in the House of Commons on the Bill to correct the old Marriage Bill. Fox swept the empty bottles off the table, threw the dice the last time for the pool, and rushed to the stables for his horse. It was yet early on the Spring morning of a 7th of April, and Horace Walpole, "curious to

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know what Fox would do," went down to the House to find out. Let him complete the picture.

"Fox made his motion for leave to bring in a Bill to correct the old Marriage Bill. Burke made a fine and long oration against the motion. Charles Fox, who had been running about the House talking to different persons and scarce listening to Burke, rose with amazing spirit and memory, answered both Lord North and Burke, ridiculed the arguments of the former, and confuted those of the latter. . . . Burke was indefatigable, learned and versed in every branch of eloquence. Fox was dissipated, idle beyond measure. He was that very morning returned from Newmarket . . . had sat up drinking all night; and had not been in bed when he came to move this Bill, which he had not even drawn up. This was genius—almost inspiration. The House dividing, Lord North was beaten by sixty-two to sixty-one—a disgraceful event for a Prime Minister."

When you come to remember all that had happened since the matter of the silk waistcoat, it is indeed amazing to consider how Fox was able to wind up the episode as he did. There is a blank in the chronicles after the Government defeat, and I only hope it means that some kind friend at last put Charles to bed. Lord North's misfortune reminds me that he is the author of one of the wittiest things ever said about a mare, which is just what might be expected at this time. His son, it seems, had been obliged to sell a mare owing to sudden financial difficulties. Lord North forgave him, but advised that in future he should always keep his mares whatever else he sold. "Equam," said the Prime Minister, "Equam memento rebus in arduis Servare."

One of the most delightful ladies "on the Turf" in those days was Charles James Fox's aunt, who was about his own age. Lady Sarah Lennox, youngest daughter of the second Duke of Richmond, was the most beautiful woman in England, and though the best-known thing about her is that George III. wanted very much to marry her, she has even greater claims to fame as having eventually



LADY BUNBURY

By Reynolds

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become the mother of the Napiers. But racing men remember her for yet a third reason, scarcely less important. Her first husband was Sir Charles Bunbury, owner of the first winner of the Derby, the man who carried on in the Jockey Club those noble traditions of the Turf which were handed on from Bernard Howard, through him, to Lord George Bentinck and to Admiral Rous. I have mentioned the wife before the husband because Lady Sarah's letters, and the memoirs of her life-long friend, Lady Susan Fox-Strangeways (whom Reynolds painted with her and Charles Fox in a celebrated picture), give a most fascinating insight into the racing life of the time.

"I must now tell you," she writes in 1762 from Barton to Lady Susan, "about Newmarket, while it is in my head. The Duke of Cumberland won two matches and the Duke of Grafton a plate with a vile horse. *Magpie* ran, and was beat. I saw him and his horses in the morning, 'tis a dear soul; I lost my money." Ten days later she wrote again: "Lord Ossory is with us, and went to the Assembly, he is an agreeable sensible man and I like him vastly. . . . I danced with Lord Petre, and he is a nasty toad. . . . Pray now, who the devil would not be happy with a pretty place, a good house, good horses, greyhounds and fox-hunting, so near Newmarket, what company we please in the house, and £2000 a year to spend? . . . Newmarket was charming; all the charming men were there (1763). Dear Mr. Meynell lost sums of money on a horse of my brother's, beat by the little mare *Hermione*, of Mr. Calvert; its name was *Goodwood* and got by *Brilliant*; but I hear he has made up all his losses again by cards at Euston, where the Duke of Cumberland and all the Newmarket folks are; he, a fat wretch, has won everything on earth; poor dear Mr. Greville has lost; Sir John Moore has lost near £5000 between quinze and horses. Lord Orford has taken to hawking larks . . . poor Lord Rockingham was there. . . . There was a meeting of two days at Newmarket this time of year (1765) to see the sweetest little horse run that ever was; his name is *Gimcrack*, he is delightful. Lord Rocking-

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ham, the Duke of Grafton and General Conway kissed hands the day *Gimcrack* ran. I must say I was more anxious about the horse than about the Ministry."

Lady Bunbury's sentence reminds me of the last great Turfite of this time whom I have space to mention, in whom Horace Walpole notices a similar preference for horses to the formalities of the Court. When Sir Richard Grosvenor should have kissed hands on the elevation to a Barony in March 1761, "he was gone to Newmarket to see the trial of a racehorse." The owner of *Malton*, *Gimcrack*, *Sweet William* and *Bandy* could perhaps have scarcely done otherwise; for he won the Derby with *Rhadamanthus* and his own brother *Daedalus* (a record that only King Edward VII. has ever equalled) and with *John Bull*; and the Oaks with *Faith*, *Ceres*, *Maid of the Oaks*, *Nike* and *Bellina*. He also owned *Pot8os*, the best son of *Eclipse*, and to find anything like his full record on the Turf, you must go to a later member of his own family, the first Duke of Westminster. In breeding, Lord Grosvenor's only rivals were such friends as Lord Clermont, Lord Egremont, the Duke of Cumberland and Sir Charles Bunbury, whose connection by marriage, Lady Susan Fox-Strangeways (wife of O'Brien, the actor) left a few lively records of racing society between 1760 and 1818 with which I will close this abbreviated view of the Turf to which *Eclipse* was born.

Few are better qualified to give a hint from behind the scenes than the lady who heard Charles Fox's "C'est égal," as a consolation for her disappointment of the Birthday Ball when George II. died, and who could make comparisons with Waterloo year, when "assemblies are become so numerous that two or three of a night it is common to go . . . if it is not quite crowded it is not thought good or agreeable. No cards are admitted. Music in which all are proficient has taken their place. . . . No one can now say 'breeding' or 'with child' or 'lying-in.' 'In the family way' and 'confinement' have taken their place. 'Cholic' and 'bowells' are exploded words. 'Stomach' signifies everything. 'Fair Cyprians' and 'tender,' or 'interesting con-



MATCH BETWEEN GIMECZAK AND RAY MUTTON AT YORK IN 1769
Reproduced from the painting by Best in the possession of H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein

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nexions' have succeeded to 'women on the town' and 'kept mistresses.'" This was a change indeed from her early days, when a crowd was rare except at Bedford House, Northumberland House, Norfolk House, Lady Hillsborough's, or Lady Shelburne's, and when the intimate circle, in which every one was intimately known, only asked enough guests to make themselves thoroughly comfortable over the cards. Lady Susan observes, too, that "100,000 bibles were given to the people, and salons at the same time built at our theatres for the reception and entertainment of prostitutes and their attendant swains. This one may call neutralising." The bad effect it had at first on fashionable attendance at the playhouses she notices very strongly.

On the whole the character of the life she knew has changed but little; only its outward forms and symbols altered. The difference is that men like "Old Q." or Lord Barrymore threw themselves with greater energy and publicity into the life of pleasure than their successors, and much more so than any one can do now. The tone was louder, the colours brighter. It was also a more friendly society, because it was closer connected and more intimately acquainted than now. Some men went because they loved horses and sport; others because they hoped to win money; others because Lady Sarah flirted at Newmarket. They probably made more noise and cut a gayer dash. But the great, joyous, good-humoured, open-air spirit of the best people on the Turf was the same we know to-day.

I must now turn to the reverse side of the picture. Lights are never valuable without the shadows that can throw them up, and any sketch of the racing life of the last half of the eighteenth century would be incomplete without the rascals and the horse-copers who have never been wholly eliminated from the Turf from its beginnings until now. It is quite possible, too, that if Wildman and O'Kelly had never bought *Eclipse* after the Duke of Cumberland's death, the whole story of the English thoroughbred would

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have been entirely altered, and not for the better. The Irish adventurer has, in fact, as great a claim on the gratitude of the modern Turf as the royal owner who was son and uncle to two successive English kings. We shall find, before I have done with them, that there is a great deal more to be said for Wildman and O'Kelly than my readers may expect ; for the family papers, so kindly submitted to me for the preparation of this book, have resulted in a very different portrait of *Eclipse's* owner from that hitherto accepted. He was no saint. I have no desire to make him out one. But he was very far from being the unredeemed blackguard which tradition has so unfairly pictured in the absence of the facts before me. A thoughtful consideration of *Eclipse's* career upon the Turf is almost sufficient alone to disprove the worst stories told about O'Kelly.

CHAPTER V

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

*Exivit alius equus rufus ; et qui sedebat super illum datum est ei
ut sumeret pacem de terra, et ut invicem se interficiant ; et
datus est ei gladius magnus*

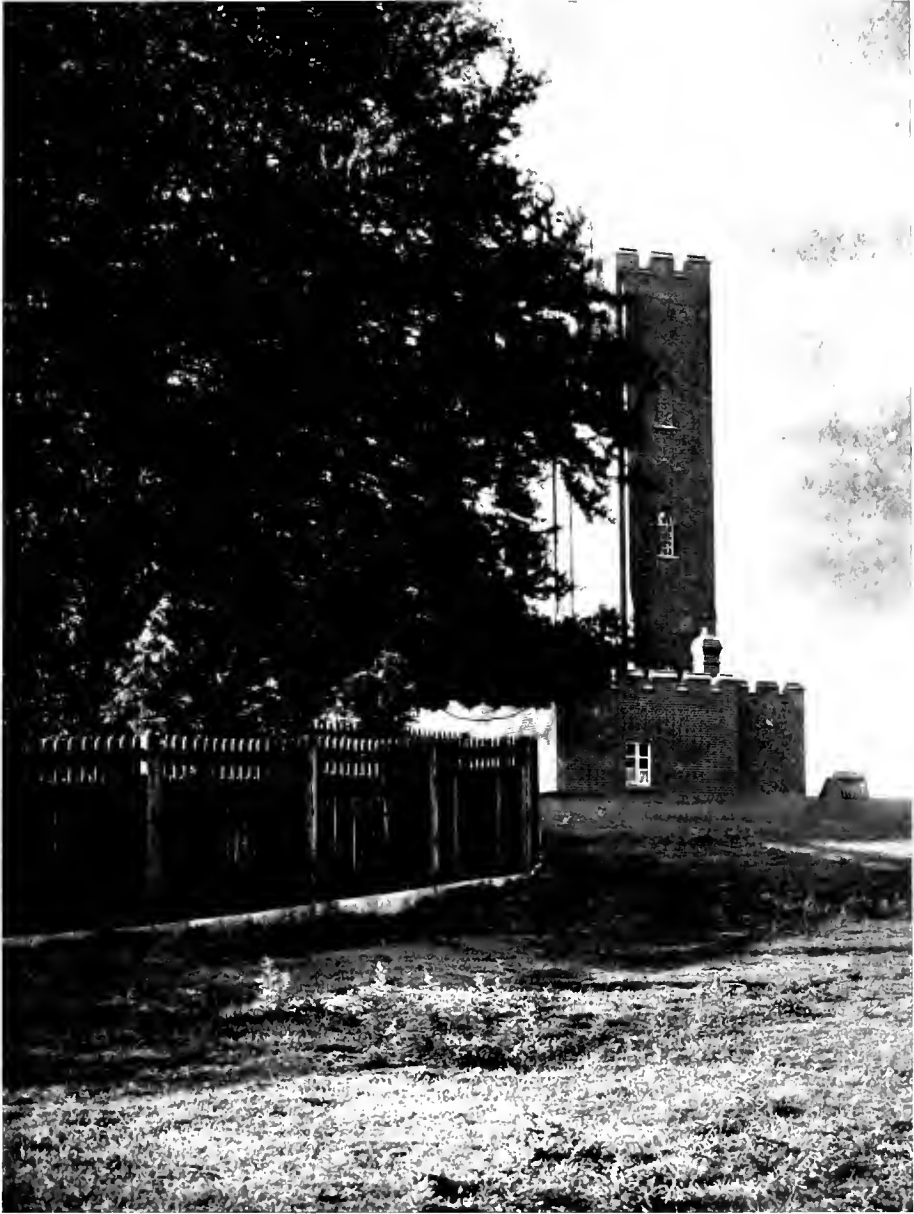
Authentic Relics and True Stories—The Birthplace of *Eclipse*—The Cumberland Papers—Cranbourne Tower Paddocks—Cumberland Farm—*Eclipse's* Sire—Mr. Tattersall's idea—*Marske's* Performances—*Spilletta*—“Colonel O'Kelly's Groom”—*Hautboy* Blood—Sale of *Eclipse*—Mr. Wildman—His Racing Stable—Education of *Eclipse*—The first Trial—O'Kelly at Epsom—The first Victory—Placing the Horses—His Jockeys—*Marske's* Reward—Descriptions of *Eclipse* in Training—Fifteen Hands Two—Eye-witnesses Describe *Eclipse*—Winning Races in 1769 and 1770—Purchase by Dennis O'Kelly—Ten to One on—York Races—*Goldfinder*—Lincoln Heath—Colours in 1771—Long distance Racing—£25,000 at the Stud—A Mile a Minute—Conclusive Evidence.

WHEN I had first determined to try and set down the truth, as far as it is now discoverable, with regard to the most remarkable animal ever bred, I little realised the difficulties that lay before me. Six “undoubted” skeletons of *Eclipse* claimed my bewildered attention. No less than nine “authentic” feet were apparently possessed by this extraordinary animal. The “genuine” hair out of his tail would have generously filled the largest arm-chair in the Jockey Club. The “certified” portions of his hide would together have easily carpeted the yard at Tattersall's. The disposal of his remains after death it was a comparatively easy task to discover, owing to the hints of Saint Bel, the surgeon who performed the autopsy ; but I was baffled for

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a long while by the insistent claims of various localities to the honour of his birth. "Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae," were nothing to this competition; and the shade of Homer may hide its diminished head before the anxiety of horse-loving Englishmen to prove that *Eclipse* was foaled in their own district. As it is, I have not settled all these points to my own satisfaction. I do not believe that some of them ever can be settled. But I shall not weary my readers with too many reasons for the conclusions at which I have arrived. I will only ask you to believe that the statements which follow are the result of careful search in every possible direction, and of the kindest assistance rendered me by known and unknown correspondents in every part of the United Kingdom, sometimes as far afield as Canada, Australia, or the West Indies; and ranging in importance from His Majesty King Edward VII. to gentlemen of leisure who, for the trifling sum of half a sovereign, were prepared to draw me up the genealogy (and occasionally provide the portrait) of any horse that ever breathed.

It would be curious, indeed, if out of all this generous help I had not been able to produce something "not generally known"; and as a matter of fact it is quite probable that I shall be my own severest critic, for only those who have ever tried to write about a horse that died over a century ago can know how many gaps there were to fill up in the history of the most trivial matters. Yet it is consoling to remember that even in the year of grace 1880 the famous inquiry about *Bend Or* revealed the extraordinary fact that very few breeders of thoroughbred stock kept a register containing the dates of the birth, with the marks and colouring of the foals; and that even in so renowned an establishment as that of the first Duke of Westminster it was possible to raise the serious question whether a particular colt was really the son of *Doncaster* and *Rouge Rose*, or whether he was *Tadcaster*. The Duke himself was perfectly satisfied, and subsequent history confirmed his



CRANBOURNE TOWER, IN WINDSOR GREAT PARK

The publock where Eclipsa was foaled

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

opinion ; but it seems very strange that any uncertainty should ever have existed.

In the matter of *Eclipse's* birth I was at first faced with a somewhat similar doubt ; and this at first seemed more difficult to dispel because the enormous importance of *Eclipse* in racing history did not appear until many years after his royal owner's death ; and though the Duke of Cumberland owned both *Marske* and *Spiletta*, the previous records of neither sire nor dam warranted any particularly high hopes about their progeny. Pictures of *Marske* are, of course, well known. But *Spiletta* (by *Regulus*) never did anything on the racecourse in spite of her stout ancestry ; and until Mr. Arthur Hargreaves most kindly wrote to me from Eccles and told me of the beautiful picture by Sartorius in his possession, I did not know she had ever been painted. Then the relentless way in which all papers belonging to members of the royal family in the eighteenth century were invariably destroyed has cut off another avenue of knowledge. As I have already related, on the authority of the Lord Rockingham in whose arms *Eclipse's* owner died, the Duke of Cumberland's papers were all sent by him to Princess Amelia, and by her were burnt.

The so-called “Cumberland Papers,” in the custody of the Royal Librarian in Windsor Castle, though very voluminous on the subject of the Duke's various campaigns, contain nothing about the matters on which we are at present engaged. His Royal Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, successor to the owner of *Eclipse* as Ranger of Windsor Great Park, and now living in Cumberland Lodge and Schomberg House, both former residences of the Duke of Cumberland, has most kindly made inquiries for me on the Continent, in case any racing memoranda might have been preserved among the papers of the House of Hanover, but without result. Nor does Captain Campbell, of Holly Lodge, in Windsor Park, know of any such records. There is no doubt, however, that documentary evidence did at some time or other actually exist ; and though I am not able at the present moment to produce it, I am at least

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empowered to say that H.R.H. Prince Christian has satisfied himself that the paddock near Cranbourne Tower, of which I have reproduced a picture, was the actual place where *Eclipse* was foaled in 1764.

Cranbourne Lodge was one of the houses the Duke of Cumberland loved. The stables for his carriage and riding horses were at his formal residence, Cumberland Lodge, and a view of them appears in these pages by the kind permission of their present royal tenant. But his brood mares were kept at the paddocks near Cranbourne Lodge, and this is the place given as the birthplace in a contemporary account of *Eclipse's* performances which I reproduce in the Appendix. The event is now recorded for future generations in the tablet made for Prince Christian by a Windsor tradesman named Wellman, and set up by him on this spot on March 7, 1879; and Captain Campbell informs me that he has never found any reason to discredit the information it conveys. It is worth noticing in this connection that one of Stubbs' paintings in His Majesty's collections shows George III. looking at the Duke's thoroughbred mares and foals in the Long Walk. Mr. Bracy Clark's theory (in 1835) was that *Eclipse* was "foaled in Sussex, in the stud of the Duke of Cumberland." No such stud existed there in the year 1764.

The Duke's horses in training were kept at Kate's Gore, near Ilsley; and Mr. J. E. Vincent, who lives at Drayton, is inclined to support Mr. J. M. Falkner's theory, propounded in Murray's "Berkshire," that *Eclipse* was born at East Ilsley on April 1, 1764. But I cannot think it likely that, when the eclipse occurred from which the colt was named, *Spiletta* was among the "running-horses." She is not likely to have been taken from the brood mares' paddocks near Cranbourne Chase at so interesting a time. The only reason I can find for connecting *Eclipse* with the Berkshire Downs at all is that in 1770, the year of his most brilliant victories, his owner, O'Kelly, ran a mare called *Dairymaid* at Wantage in a £50 race for five-year-olds, four-mile heats, 8st. 7lbs., which was won by *Steady*.

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Nor is there any other evidence for her celebrated foal having first seen the light under Sir Francis Doyle's thorn-tree at Mickleham, near Dorking, except in the fact that Mr. W. Wildman, who bought the yearling, kept his thoroughbreds there.

The same misleading argument from names is probably responsible for the idea that *Eclipse* was foaled at what is still called Cumberland Farm, extending from New Barnet to Prince Regent's Lane, at Plaistow, Essex. The legend is no doubt preserved by the name of Eclipse Road, close by. But by the kindness of their surveyor I am enabled to state that “Cumberland Farm” was bought (under that name) by the Coopers Company in 1706. It is therefore probable that the *Eclipse* legends were attracted to the place after 1770 because the name of Cumberland had become very popular after 1745; and it is unfortunately the fact that “Eclipse Road” has only lately been laid out through part of the old farm lands, and therefore its name is quite recent. The earliest tenant of the farm whose name can so far be traced is Mr. Richard Hudson in 1825. If either the Duke of Cumberland or Dennis O'Kelly had had the land their names would certainly have occurred in the Coopers Company's records. If *Eclipse* was ever there at all, it could only have been because his first purchaser, Mr. William Wildman, of Leadenhall Market, had desired to take advantage of a quiet out-of-the-way place to keep the colt until he was broken in. But a man who owned paddocks at Mickleham was hardly likely to take the colt he had picked out of the Duke's sale to Plaistow, especially when we consider the difficulty with which *Eclipse* was even taught his business in his youth. I must adhere to this in spite of the fact that so good an authority as Sir Walter Gilbey (in speaking of Stubbs' pictures) mentions “the Duke of Cumberland's stud farm on the Isle of Dogs” as the birthplace of *Eclipse*, for I think this is only a reflection of the “Cumberland Farm” legend.

Having said this much of his birthplace, in which I am glad to find “The Druid” agrees with my conclusions, I

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pass on to the question of *Eclipse's* sire. Many will wonder nowadays that such a question ever existed, and when I find that "Old Q." never had a bet on it, I am almost inclined to think that the question never became serious during the horse's lifetime. They often betted on just this sort of problem at Brooks's, and in 1773 Lord March is recorded there to have wagered that the *Godolphin Arabian* and not *Bay Bolton* was the sire of *Mogul*, and that *Bay Bolton* was not the sire of *Whistle Jacket*. He evidently remembered that *Bay Bolton* (by *Grey Hautboy*) was foaled in 1705 and died in 1736, whereas the *Godolphin Arabian* (1724 to 1753) had a son called *Mogul* who was the sire of *Whistle Jacket* (1749).

There is not so much doubt now possible, with all the records before us, as to the sire of *Eclipse*; still it must be chronicled that in Mr. Tattersall's first album, the owner of *Herod's* great son *Highflyer* (1774 to 1793) records his opinion that *Eclipse* was not by *Marske* but by *Shakespeare*; "for *Shakespeare* was a large and strong chestnut with white legs and face who got chestnuts and was a good runner. *Marske* was a bad runner, a brown, who got brown or bay. Mr. O'Kelly's groom says *Eclipse's* dam was covered by both, and first by *Shakespeare*." If this were true *Eclipse* would trace back through *Shakespeare* to *Hobgoblin* and *Aleppo*, instead of through *Squirt* to *Bartlett's Childers*, own brother to *Flying Childers* by the *Darley Arabian*. As was seen when we analysed the accepted pedigree of *Eclipse*, the line through *Shakespeare* might perhaps be thought the purer of the two, for *Shakespeare's* dam was the little *Hartley mare*, and his grandsire was by the *Darley Arabian* out of a daughter of *Hautboy*.

But the argument for colour does not amount to much in those days. If *Eclipse* (a chestnut) was by *Shakespeare*, a chestnut, his grandsire was a brown and his great-grandsire was a bay; if he was by *Marske*, a brown, his grandsire was a chestnut, and his great-grandsire a bay. In either case his great-great-grandsire, the *Darley Arabian*, was a bay, and his dam (*Spiletta*) was bay by a



MARSKE, SIRE OF ECLIPSE

From the engraving by G. E. Stubbs in the British Museum after the painting by G. Stubbs



PLATE RECORDING ECLIPSE'S BIRTH

Set up in Windsor Great Park by H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein

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bay son of a dark brown bay Arabian. There is not much to be got out of the colours.

Then as to performances, there seems to be equally little in it; for Mr. Tattersall's note does not give any races won by *Shakespeare* equal to *Marske's* Jockey Club Plate in 1754; and the poem written at *Marske's* death (a tribute I have not found given to *Shakespeare*) does not support Mr. Tattersall's views. It begins as follows:

“Ye sportsmen for a while refrain your mirth,
Old *Marsk* is dead, consigned to peaceful earth.
The king of horses now alas! is gone,
Sire of *Eclipse* who ne'er was beat by one. . . .
Thousands no doubt will wish one day to lie
As safe as *Marsk* beneath an angry sky.”

The first time he appeared at Newmarket in 1754 was when he received forfeit in April from Mr. Cornwall's grey colt by his Arabian. But a month afterwards his victory for the Jockey Club Plate of 100 guineas (four-year-olds, 8st., one heat over the Round Course of 3 miles, 4 furlongs, 187 yards) involved beating Mr. Panton's *Pythos*, Mr. Croft's *Brilliant*, Lord Gower's *Ginger*, and Mr. Vernon's *Bear*; and in October, carrying 9st., he beat Lord Trentham's *Stringer* (by *Shock*) over the Beacon Course of 4 miles, 1 furlong, 138 yards for 300 guineas. *Brilliant* had his revenge in 1755; but *Marske's* match, for 1000 guineas, with that good horse *Snap* (by *Snip*, son of *Flying Childers*) was perhaps his best performance, for he lost by so little that the Duke challenged again in a fortnight, and only sent *Marske* to the stud after *Snap* had beaten him twice.

Colonel O'Kelly owned a large oil painting of *Marske* at the age of twenty, which eventually came to the owners of Celbridge Abbey in Ireland, and a correspondent kindly informs me it still hangs on the wall there. My own illustration is taken from the fine engraving after Stubbs in the British Museum.

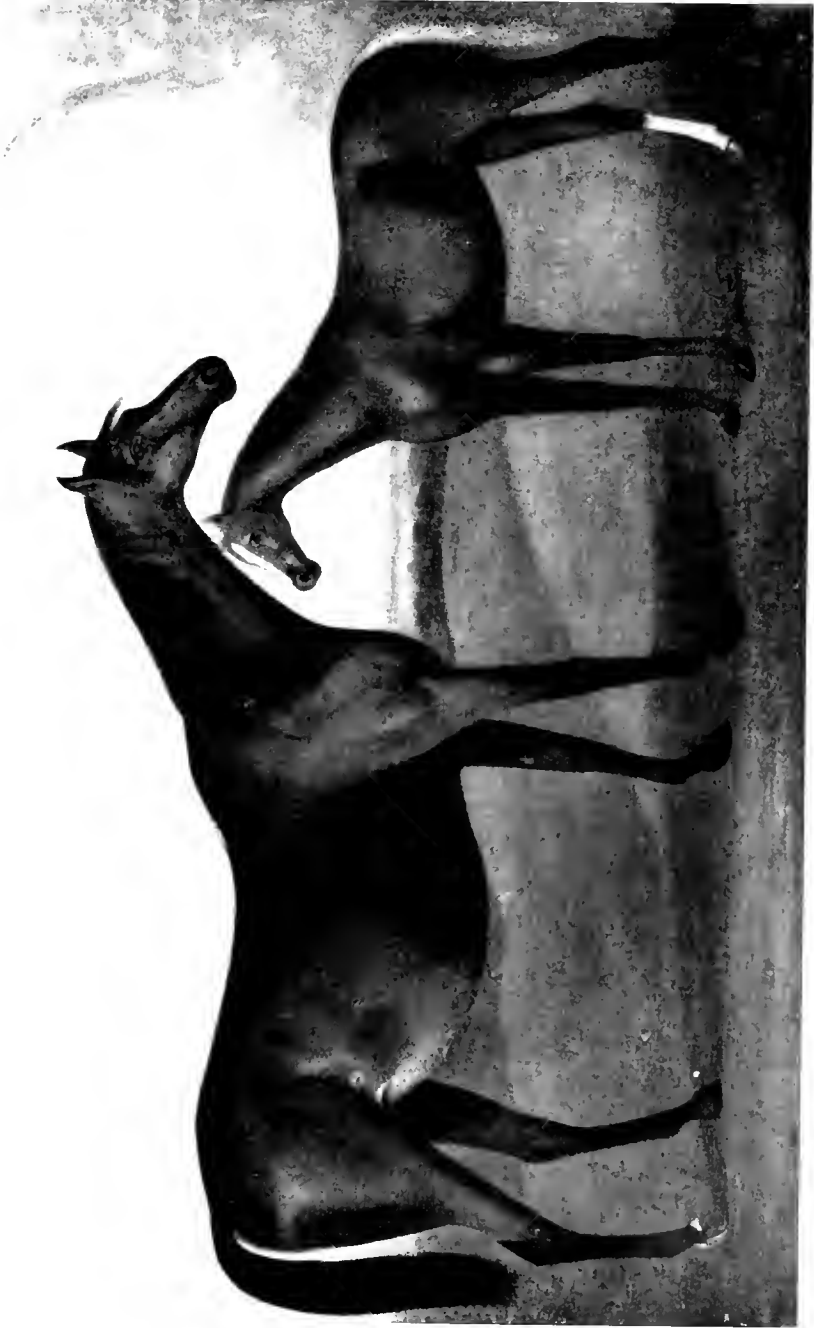
Marske was given as a colt by his breeder, Mr. John Hutton, of Marske, in Yorkshire, to the Duke of Cumber-

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

land in exchange for a chestnut Arabian. He won his best race as a four-year-old, and evidently never had a chance of the Arab mares at the Duke's stud until he was thirteen. Then came the fortunate mating with his noble owner's beautiful daughter of *Regulus*, a mare whom the Duke bought from Sir Robert Eden, who bred her in 1749, and she was sent to the stud after she had lost her only race at Newmarket, in 1754. She died in 1776, and was the dam of H.R.H.'s bay filly *Ariadne*, by *Crab*; the Duke of Ancaster's bay filly *Proserpine*; Lord Abingdon's chestnut colt *Hyperion* (afterwards *Garrick*), by *Marske*; the Duke of Ancaster's chestnut filly *Briseis*, by *Chrysolite*; and of *Bellerophon*, *Montesquieu*, *Hebe*, *Coelia*, *Luna*, and *Falcon's* dam, by *Marske*.

Up to 1763 *Marske* had only served farmers' mares at Cranbourne Lodge for half a guinea and half a crown to the groom, and he was bought by a Dorsetshire farmer for very little at the Duke's sale. But when the real value of his son, *Eclipse*, became evident, the Earl of Abingdon bought him for 1000 guineas, and he stood at Rycot, in Oxfordshire, at 100 guineas a mare until his death in 1779, having then produced 154 winners, of a total of £71,806, among whom were *Desdemona*, *Hephestion*, *Leviathan*, *Masquerade*, *Narcissus*, *Sharke*, *Young Marske*, and many more. His good luck did not come until comparatively late, and it was only by the merest chance that he was foaled at all; for his sire, *Squirt* (by *Bartlett's Childers* from a daughter of *Snake*), was being led to Sir Harry Harpur's kennel, when the groom begged him off, and he became the sire of *Marske*, *Syphon*, the sire of *Pumpkin*, Mr. Pratt's *Purity*, and other good ones. Our history of breeding is full of providential accidents of the same kind.

It is only fair to add that Mr. John Lawrence, who saw *Eclipse*, and published a "History and Delineation of the Horse," in 1809, says: "*Eclipse's* dam was covered both by *Shakespeare* and *Marske*, and she came to *Marske's* time, so the honour was awarded to him. If I recollect right, she had missed by him the previous year. . . . Great stress



SILETTA WITH ECLIPSE AT FOOT

From the original painting in the possession of Mr. Hargreaves

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

was laid upon the supposed likeness of *Basilus*, one of the earliest sons of *Eclipse*, to *Marske*, and, indeed, the resemblance appears to me strong; but I could discover no common family resemblance between *Eclipse* and his presumed full brother, *Garrick*. On the other hand, I think *Eclipse* strongly resembled the family of *Shakespeare* in colour and in certain particulars of form and temper.” But when we get down to any real evidence, we find Mr. Lawrence’s witness is the same as Mr. Tattersall’s: “I was frequently in the habit,” writes Mr. Lawrence, “of visiting *Eclipse* at Epsom, on which occasions I often discoursed the subject of the disputed pedigree with Colonel O’Kelly’s then groom, who assured me that the mare was covered by *Shakespeare*.”

I cannot accept “Colonel O’Kelly’s groom” as an authority of what went on at the Duke of Cumberland’s stud-farm some time before any one knew the Duke’s horses were likely to be sold, and six years before *Eclipse* turned out to be a flyer. Nor is it likely that *Marske*, good as his produce became as soon as he was given a chance, would have been bought for 1000 guineas by Lord Abingdon (who subsequently bred *Eclipse*’s loveliest son, *Pot8os*), unless all doubt about the pedigree had been set at rest. It is equally certain that no one would have paid 100 guineas in those days for *Marske*’s services unless they had been reasonably certain that he had sired *Eclipse*.

I have already pointed out certain “flaws” in *Eclipse*’s pedigree in my second chapter. I think we may neglect the *Shakespeare* legend. But I am unable to say with certainty whether *Spiletta*’s granddam (called the *Old Montague Mare*) was by *Old Montague*, whose breeding is unknown, or by *Woodcock*, who was by *Bustler*, by the *Helmley Turk*, and therefore better blood. Apart from the outstanding facts that the *Darley Arabian* was his great-great-grand sire, and that the grand sire of his dam was the *Godolphin Barb*, what strikes any one who examines *Eclipse*’s pedigree is the preponderance of the blood of *Hautboy*, who was the son of the *D’Arcy White Turk*, out of a royal mare, and who brings the third element into that perfect

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blend of "Arabian, Barb, and Turk" which was so successful in *Eclipse*.

So having settled, as accurately as we can ever settle them, the birthplace and the sire of *Eclipse*, we must imagine the brilliant chestnut colt being put up to auction when the Cumberland stud was sold in 1765. He had a very ugly head, and it must have taken a good judge to see racing possibilities in the leggy yearling which the auctioneer knocked down before the right time for the sale had come. But Mr. William Wildman had evidently had a look over the lots beforehand; and he arrived determined to get hold of the *Spiletta* colt, which of course he never bred himself, as some authorities have suggested.

The contemporary record of *Eclipse's* performances, which I have reproduced, says that he was "sold as a foal for £45." But the accepted version of the facts runs that he had been knocked down for 70 guineas (a good price for those days) before Mr. Wildman's arrival, and that when Mr. Wildman objected that the sale had begun before the advertised time, the lots were put up again, and the meat salesman got the chestnut for a sum recorded by Whyte as 75 guineas, and by John Osborne as 80 guineas.

Whatever the exact total, the colt undoubtedly passed from the Duke's executors to Mr. Wildman, and this gentleman's personality immediately becomes of so much interest that I regret having found out so little to say of him. Sir Robert Heron, in his "Memoirs," mentions a Wildman in Nottinghamshire who began by being agent to an estate and wound up by owning it. But I do not think this is our man.

A most interesting portrait of Mr. Wildman, with his two sons and *Eclipse*, painted by George Stubbs, was sent to Christie's for sale in 1902, by the executors of Mr. J. R. F. Burnett, a great-great-grandson of Wildman's, and was most appropriately bought by Sir Walter Gilbey. The horse is of the type Stubbs made familiar, after the magnificent sketch from life of which I shall have more to say. Mr. Wildman, who points proudly to his horse, looks a



RACEHORSE, WITH MR. WULMAN, HIS FIRST PURCHASER

From the painting by G. Stubbs in the possession of Sir Walter Calhoun, Bart., of Fifehead

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

well-to-do and well-dressed gentleman of middle age, in a wig and three-cornered hat, and a plain but good dress with the knee-breeches of the period, seated under a fine old tree in what may well represent his Surrey park. *Euston* is the name of another of his thoroughbreds which George Stubbs painted. I also find “Wildman’s *Squirrel*” in the pedigree written beneath an old *Eclipse* engraving, which may give us a valuable hint as to his interest in the unknown *Spiletta* colt; and “Mr. Wildman’s *Pam*” ran four heats with the Duke of Grafton’s *Havannah* over a four-mile course at Salisbury in 1763, which suggests that he was racing in good company just before the Duke of Cumberland’s death. In the same year I find that a black mare belonging to Mr. Wildman was used on three days during the wager which Mr. Shafto won from Mr. Meynell that Mr. John Woodcock would ride a hundred miles a day for twenty-nine days with not more than twenty-nine horses. As a matter of fact, only eight horses and six mares were used. Mr. Woodcock began at 1 A.M. on May 4, 1761, and finished on June 1, at 6 P.M. Mr. Shafto lent him two horses, and all the others must have been fine stayers. In 1770 Mr. Wildman’s *Duchess*, by *Slouch*, was beaten at the Newmarket First Spring Meeting by Mr. Walton’s grey horse *Steady*, who also beat O’Kelly’s bay colt at Ascot in June of the same year, the season of *Eclipse*’s most decisive triumphs. In October, 1774, Mr. Wildman’s *Emma*, by *Snap*, was beaten by *Dart*, at Odiham, in a maiden plate of £50 for four-year-olds, 8st., five-year-olds, 8st. 12lbs., three heats once round the course; and at Epsom, a fortnight afterwards, Mr. Wildman’s *Cantab*, by *Marske*, was beaten again by the same horse in four three-mile heats for £50. Lastly, it is recorded that at the same meeting Mr. Wildman had another horse running at Epsom named *Wanton*, who was beaten by *Nestor*.

His business was that of a meat salesman in Leadenhall Market, and of a grazier on a large scale at Havering-atte-Bower; and no doubt his pleasure was breeding thoroughbreds in Surrey, and racing them on various

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

courses. From the few indications that remain I get the impression of a prosperous City merchant with a sporting turn, married, and in easy circumstances; and the only thing I cannot understand about him is his sale of *Eclipse* to O'Kelly.

Evidently Mr. Wildman not only knew his business, but soon recognised he had got a good thing in the late Duke's yearling. Being in no hurry to realise, and having made no large outlay of capital for which it would be necessary to recoup himself as soon as possible, he conferred an inestimable benefit on posterity by allowing the colt to mature before he raced him, and by taking great pains to find him a jockey he liked in 1769. At one time *Eclipse's* temper seemed so bad that a hasty owner might have thought it impossible to send him to the post except as a gelding. But everything was tried. He was sent for some time to a rough-rider named George Elton, or Ellers, near Epsom, who almost worked him to death by riding him about all day, and sometimes kept him out all night on poaching expeditions. But nothing hurt that iron constitution and magnificently balanced framework, and nothing broke the magnificent spirit of *Spiletta's* fiery son. At last patience and forbearance won the day. Jack Oakley, who rode him in nearly all his races, never attempted to hold him, but sat quietly in his saddle and let him go as he pleased, with the result that he cut down his field at the start and kept on increasing his lead; for the further he went the more he seemed to enjoy himself, so that he must have had a combination of speed, stride, endurance, and weight-carrying ability over a distance, which can never have been surpassed in the history of the horse before or since; for the animals he beat were good ones, and there was not one in existence during his short racing career which could extend him.

That such proof of *Eclipse's* capacity was forthcoming at all is largely owing to Mr. Wildman. Had he been born in this twentieth century of enlightenment and grace, there is every probability that he would have been raced off his

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

legs for all the two-year-old prizes in sight, and so “treated” for “vice” that he would never have had any posterity at all. It is not always that the jeers of modern scientific sportsmen at the rough days of Dennis O’Kelly are wholly justified.

It was natural that Mr. Wildman should give him his first taste of racing at Epsom, and it was necessary to try him first over the course. It is not often realised that O’Kelly had begun to race before he owned *Eclipse* at all, as may be inferred from the fact that his *Caliban*, by *Brilliant*, was one of the horses distanced by the famous but still unknown chestnut at Winchester on June 13, 1769. He was able, therefore, to advise Wildman as to the proper course to pursue, if advice were needed, in those weeks of April that same year, when *Eclipse’s* real racing preparation began. The Mickleham stable naturally said very little of their plans; but the touts got to know, as they usually do, that one of Mr. Wildman’s lot was to have an important trial over the Epsom Downs against a good horse which, I suspect, was lent for the occasion by O’Kelly. The touts arrived too late, but they found out what they wanted, as they generally will. An old woman on the Downs was asked whether she had seen anything like a race. She replied that she did not know whether it was a race or not, but she had just seen a horse with a white leg “running away at a monstrous rate,” and another horse a great way behind trying to race after him; but she was “sure he never would catch the white-legged one if he ran to the world’s end.” The news had reached Medley’s Coffee House by the afternoon, and we may be sure that more of O’Kelly’s friends than he quite anticipated had put their money on the right horse in *Eclipse’s* first race at the Epsom meeting on May 3, 1769.

It was a fifty-guinea plate for horses that had never won £30, matches excepted. As a five-year-old *Eclipse* carried 8st.; six-year-olds had 9st. 3lbs.; four-mile heats. In this, ridden by John Oakley, he beat Mr. Fortescue’s bay *Gower* (five years), by *Sweepstakes*, an exceptionally good one; Mr. Castle’s bay *Chance* (six years), by *Young Cade*; Mr.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Jenning's chestnut *Trial* (five years), by *Blank*; and Mr. Quick's *Plume* (five years), by *Feather*. So much news about the previous trial had got about that the betting was four to one on *Eclipse* at the start, but O'Kelly had got on a large amount previously at more remunerative odds. Desirous of adding to his gains, and being perfectly confident, after the first heat, that this great horse could race as well as he could gallop, he made a heavy wager (which was naturally taken up with considerable eagerness) that he would place all the horses in the second heat. When asked to name their order, he pronounced the famous sentence: "*Eclipse* first, and the rest nowhere," as he was sure that all the other horses would be "distanced" (*i.e.*, beaten by over 200 yards), and therefore would not be "placed" by the judge. This proved to be more correct than most racing prophecies have ever been; for John Oakley only had to sit quite still, and though all the horses were close together at the three-mile post, *Eclipse* sailed away so easily from there that he beat the rest, hard held, by more than the margin required, and his jockey could not have stopped him if he had wanted to. The painting by Sartorius of the horse galloping with his head down shows how completely he could master his jockey when he liked. It was nearly always Oakley who rode him, but Fitzpatrick was sometimes given the mount; and at York in 1770 he was ridden by S. Merriott, according to Orton's "Turf Annuals," and by John Whiting at Lewes, according to Bracy Clark; but I can find no proof that John Singleton (1732-1826), who won on *Alabaculia* in 1776, ever rode *Eclipse*, as has been suggested. It was probably Oakley with whom O'Kelly made the arrangement described in our next chapter, which is about the earliest instance of a "retaining fee" upon the Turf; and the colours were red with a black cap, which are reproduced in the binding of this volume.

Mr. Wildman himself must have been as much impressed as was O'Kelly by this performance at Epsom, and he took a characteristic step in consequence of it without delay; for



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From the painting by Sartorius in the possession of Lady Douchester

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he at once hunted up *Marske* from the Dorsetshire farmer who had bought him so cheaply at the Duke's sale, and soon made a good deal more than the purchase price (£20) out of his fees at Mickleham. When those fees had risen to thirty guineas, and after he had raced others of *Marske's* get under his own colours, he sold the stallion to Lord Abingdon, as has been already mentioned, who promptly raised them to a hundred guineas, a very large sum for those days.

It is also right to mention that some authorities refer the famous anecdote about O'Kelly's placing the horses to the King's Plate at Newmarket in 1770, when ten to one is said to have been freely betted against the Irishman performing the feat. It is certainly true that after this he had a walk-over for nearly every race in which he entered, and was withdrawn from lack of competition at the end of that season. But I expect that there was a very general belief in his extraordinary excellence by that time, and that few people would have laid so confidently against O'Kelly, whose astuteness was equally a matter of common knowledge, even in a wager that appeared (to the uninitiated) almost impossible for any one to win. Fields were smaller in those days, and it would be perfectly well known by any one betting with O'Kelly at Newmarket in 1770 both that distanced horses were unplaced and that *Eclipse* was capable of distancing his field. This latter fact, at any rate, would not seem very probable on the horse's first appearance; and therefore I agree with those authorities who refer the bet to the race at Epsom just described.

It would be curious to consider how many people realised what they were looking at when *Eclipse* registered his first victory. What they saw was a horse with a very ugly head, a blaze face, and one white stocking on the off hind leg. Stubbs must have hit him off to the life in the beautiful sketch, now the property of Sir Walter Gilbey at Elsenham Hall, which formed the type from which most of the best portraits were taken. His colour was the most brilliant chestnut, and in Lord Rosebery's wonderful collection at the Durdans, where there is an undoubted

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

portion of *Eclipse's* skin, which came to him through Matthew Dawson, who got it from Colonel O'Kelly's nephew, I have seen the Epsom sunlight shining on it, with that extraordinary iridescent effect which makes a true chestnut the loveliest colour in the world.

It has been said that *Eclipse* was what is called a "thick-winded" horse, and puffed at his exercise so as to be heard at a considerable distance. But he can never have been a "roarer" at any time, for his wind was as sound as a bell, both during and after his racing career, so that the postponement of his first appearance on a course cannot have had anything to do with any physical weakness.

I shall have more to say about his actual measurements later on; but, judging from his skeleton, he cannot have been under 15.2—a big height for his day and generation; and this measurement is confirmed by Bracy Clark.

"When I first saw him," says Mr. John Lawrence, who must have visited him at the stud, "he appeared in high health, of a robust constitution, and to promise long life. I paid particular attention to his shoulder, which, according to the common notion, was in truth very thick, but very extensive and well placed. His hindquarters and croup appeared higher than his forehead; and in his gallop it was said no horse ever threw his haunches with greater effect, his agility and stride being on a par, from his fortunate conformation in every part and his uncommon strength. He had considerable length of waist and stood over a great deal of ground, in which particular he was of the opposite form to Flying Childers, a short-backed, compact horse, whose reach laid in his lower limbs. . . . *Eclipse* was thick-winded, and breathed hard and loud in his exercise. . . ."

"He was a big horse," wrote Mr. Percival, the veterinary surgeon, "in every sense of the word, tall in stature, lengthy and capacious in body, and large in his limbs. For a big horse his head was small and partook of the Arabian character; his neck was unusually long; his shoulder was strong, sufficiently oblique, and although not remarkable for, not deficient in depth. His chest was circular; he rose very little on his withers, being higher behind than before; his back was lengthy and over the loins roached; his quarters were straight square and extended; his limbs were lengthy and broad, and his joints large; in particular his arms and thighs were long and muscular, and his knees and hocks broad and well formed."

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Bracy Clark, the famous veterinary surgeon, who had his skeleton soon after it was dissected, and whose brother was present at that operation, records that *Eclipse* had “a particularly high croup, owing to the length of his hind limbs; and his thigh-bones were, for a blood-horse, of an enormous size. In his gallop his hindlegs were very wide and separated” . . . (which is just what “The Druid” noticed in his descendant, *Touchstone*) . . . “the width of the haunch bones and pelvis would account sufficiently for this appearance, the hindlegs being parallel columns from the haunch, and not approaching upwards, as do the forelimbs.”

We must remember also that the first Earl of Stradbroke (father of Admiral Rous) said that he had often seen *Eclipse*, and that the horse “resembled a sixteen-stone hunter.”

From such descriptions as this, combined with paintings by Stubbs or Sartorius, and with Saint Bel's careful measurements and analysis of his skeleton, we can get somewhat nearer to realising what *Eclipse* was like than might have been imagined. His performances on the Turf were so limited by his own excellence that he is somewhat in the position of *St. Simon*; we shall never know how good he really was; and in the same way we have to judge of his excellence a good deal by the high form of his get, and the influence of his blood. But it is useless to depreciate the only animals he ever had a chance of beating merely because he beat them all without ever needing to extend himself. I have mentioned some of them already. The story of his other races will complete the refutation of the fable that “he never had anything to beat.”

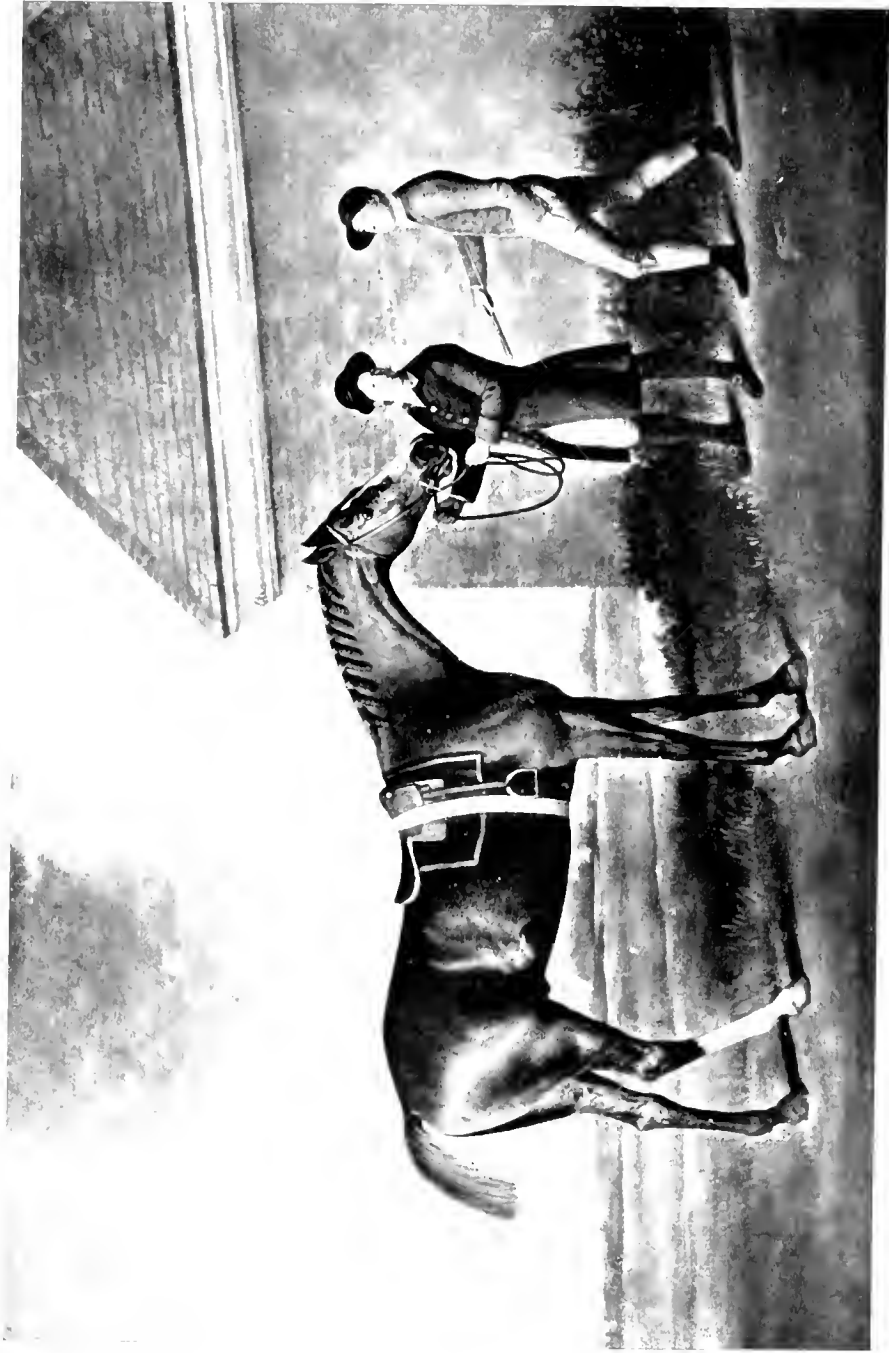
After his victory at Epsom early in May 1769, he went on to Ascot where, on the 29th of the same month, he won a £50 Plate (9st. 3lbs., two-mile heats) beating Mr. Fettyplace's b. h. *Crème de Barbade* (by *Old Snap*), very easily in both heats. It must have been soon after this further confirmation of his excellence that O'Kelly bought a half-share in him from Wildman for 650 guineas; for he was part owner

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when, on June 13, *Eclipse* won the King's Purse of 100 guineas at Winchester (12st., four-mile heats, six-year-olds) giving away a year and a sound beating to Mr. Turner's b. h. *Slouch* (by *Othello*); the Duke of Grafton's gr. h. *Chigger*; Mr. Gott's b. h. *Juba* (by *Regulus*); Mr. O'Kelly's b. h. *Caliban*, by *Brilliant*; and Mr. Bailey's b. h. *Clawville* (by *Bajazet*), the last two being distanced in the first heat. At the same meeting *Eclipse* walked over for the Fifty Guinea Plate.

At Salisbury, on June 29, he again walked over for the King's Purse of a 100 guineas, and won 30 guineas and the City Bowl (10st., four-mile heats) against Mr. Fettyplace's gr. h. *Sulphur* (by *Spectator*) and Mr. Taylor's *Forrester*, a bay six-year-old. At Canterbury he walked over the course for the King's Purse of 100 guineas. At Lewes he won the King's Plate of 100 guineas (12st., four-mile heats) against Mr. Strode's b. h. *Kingston* (six years), by *Sampson*. At Lichfield he only had one horse to beat for the King's Purse (8st. 7lbs., three-mile heats), which he won from Mr. Freeth's *Tardy* (by *Matchless*). Before the year was over O'Kelly had managed to persuade Wildman to sell him the other half interest in *Eclipse* for 1100 guineas, and no better bargain in horseflesh was ever made.

His triumphs began again in 1770, at the Spring Meeting at Newmarket, where he was matched on April 17 over the Beacon Course (at 8st. 7lbs.) against Mr. Wentworth's fine chestnut *Bucephalus* (by *Regulus*), both being six years old. *Regulus* was the sire of *Eclipse's* dam; but rarely can a nephew have given his uncle so decisive a beating, for though *Bucephalus* was well known as one of the best horses of the day, both for speed and stoutness of heart, nothing availed him; and he has secured a place in history as the only horse who ever made *Eclipse* gallop for even part of any race. But his effort broke his heart, and he was never fit to race again. Mr. Wildman's confidence was unabated, and he bet 600 guineas to 400 on his favourite at the start. In winning the 400 guineas for the King's Purse on April 19 (Round Course, two heats of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 12st.)



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From the engraving in the British Museum by Burke, after the painting by G. Stables

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Eclipse beat Mr. Fenwick's *Diana* (by *Regulus*), Mr. Stroud's bay horse *Pensioner* (by *Matchless*, a son of the *Godolphin Arabian*), and the Duke of Grafton's grey horse *Chigger*. Ten to one were bet on *Eclipse* at the start, and after the first heat (in which *Diana* was second, *Pensioner* third, and *Chigger* fourth), large sums were wagered, at odds of six and seven to four, that he would distance *Pensioner* in the second heat, which he did with the greatest ease. “The rest,” in fact, were, as usual, “nowhere.” Before leaving Newmarket, *Eclipse* also walked over the course twice for 100 guineas each time; and exactly the same thing happened in the King's Plate when he went on to Nottingham.

The monotony of the proceedings was slightly varied at York, as is recorded not only in Orton's “Annals,” but in a little book called “Historic York,” which contains races on the Knavesmire from 1709 to 1783.

In 1770, at York, Captain O'Kelly's ch. h. *Eclipse* (by *Marske*, son of *Squirt*, out of *Spiletta*, by *Regulus*) did indeed walk over for His Majesty's 100 guineas for six-year-olds (12st. 7lbs.), four-mile heats. But he also beat Mr. Wentworth's b. h. *Tortoise*, by *Snap* (aged), and Sir Charles Bunbury's b. h. *Bellario*, by *Brilliant* (aged), for the great subscription of £319 10s. for six-year-olds 8st. 7lbs., and aged 9st., four miles. The betting was 20 to 1 on *Eclipse*, and in running 100 to 1 on. He led at the start, and had distanced the others in two miles, winning very easily. O'Kelly paid 50 guineas entrance. *Snap*, the sire of the second in the race, ran under Mr. Routh's colours on the same course in 1756, and was never beaten, becoming afterwards the sire of many famous horses before he died in 1777 at the age of twenty-five. His son *Goldfinder* was also unbeaten, and was supposed to have had some chance against *Eclipse*, but broke down in exercise. But I suspect he would not have done better than *Bucephalus* (the son of *Regulus*, a sire especially affected by Mr. Hutton), who gave *Eclipse* the only semblance of a contest ever seen, but never recovered from his heart-breaking efforts. The *Bellario* and *Tortoise* mentioned above were of very high

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class, and probably as fast as any of their day; and the ease with which *Eclipse* disposed of them is one of the great tests of his transcendent merits.

Racing was begun on Lincoln Heath, near the village of Waddington, in 1765, according to the "Lincoln Date Book," and was not seen on the Carholme, the present course, until September 1771. The last time there was racing on the Heath, *Eclipse* walked over for the King's Plate, 12st., 100 guineas. At Guildford he had the same easy task. At Newmarket he made his last appearance on the Turf at the October meeting, where he won 150 guineas (Beacon Course, 8st. 10lbs.) against Sir Charles Bunbury's b. h. *Corsican* (by *Swiss*, a son of *Old Snap*), who was five years old, and, as the betting shows, was not thought to have a chance. O'Kelly paid 100 guineas entrance fee, and the betting was 70 to 1 on *Eclipse*; so this can hardly be called a profitable race; and no one ventured to oppose the chestnut next day when he walked over the Round Course for the King's Plate.

An interesting indication of the most prominent owners on the Turf at this moment may be derived from the fact that on February 10, 1771, the following colours were registered at the meeting of the Jockey Club at the Star and Garter, in Pall Mall.

Duke of Kingston	.	.	Crimson.
Duke of Ancaster	.	.	Very light buff.
Duke of Grafton	.	.	Dark blue, black cap.
Duke of Northumberland	.	.	Gold.
Marquis of Rockingham	.	.	Green, black cap.
Viscount Bolingbroke	.	.	Black.
Lord Carlisle	.	.	Scarlet and grey stripes.
Lord Grosvenor	.	.	Orange, black cap.
Lord Farnham	.	.	Sky blue.
Lord Ossory	.	.	Pea green.
Sir Charles Bunbury, Bt.	.	.	Pink and white stripe, black cap.
Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox	.	.	Green and white stripe.
Mr. Thos. Foley	.	.	Green and white stripe.
Mr. Pigott	.	.	Pompadour.
Mr. Patrick Blake	.	.	Black and white.

“ECLIPSE FIRST AND THE REST NOWHERE”

Mr. C. Blake	.	.	.	.	Grey and white.
Mr. Burlton	.	.	.	.	Yellow.
Mr. Ogilvy	.	.	.	.	Harlequin.
Mr. R. Vernon	.	.	.	.	White, black cap.
Mr. P. Wentworth	.	.	.	.	White satin.

There must have been quite a sigh of relief from most of these gentlemen when it was known that *Eclipse* had definitely been taken out of training, and I can imagine many more exciting seasons on the English Turf than those of 1769 and 1770, when one animal could beat everything in sight. Their significance, however, was enormous; for though we should now consider it rather a bad sign if a single horse were to prove itself far and away better than all the rest, in those early days it meant a development of the thoroughbred which was to alter the whole character of English racing for nearly a century and a half afterwards. *Eclipse*, as Mr. Lawrence finely says, “was never beaten, never had a whip flourished over him, or felt the tickling of a spur, or was ever for a moment distressed . . . outfooting, outstriding, and outlasting every horse which started against him.” That is the real value of a racing record which only brought in 2149 guineas in prize-money, though it included eleven King’s Plates out of about eighteen victories that are recorded, and these races were nearly all run under conditions calculated to try the best horses as high as possible. I have myself only seen one race over as long a distance as three miles six furlongs, and that was the “Prix Gladiateur,” which was run at Chantilly on October 23, 1906, instead of at Longchamps, where a crowd of roughs had wrecked the racecourse and plundered the totalisators on the previous Sunday. It was won by *Clyde*, a daughter of *Childwick*, carrying 8st. 10lbs., and the pace was very good throughout. I never saw a mare less tired after so trying a course; and I believe there is no longer one in Europe, for when Lord Ellesmere’s *Kroonstad* walked over for the Whip at Newmarket, less than a fortnight before, the course (Ditch In) was only 2 miles 118 yards; but the weight was 10st., and it is this last point which makes *Eclipse*’s performances so

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remarkable. As I shall show later, his speed, though better than any of his day, could probably be easily beaten by the modern cracks that are breaking records every year; but there is hardly one alive now that could race for four miles under 11st. or 12st. as *Eclipse* habitually did; and the reason may well be that he was nearer the original Arab, and that there had not yet been time to break down stamina by breeding for flashy sprints or by racing two-year-olds before they were mature. It has been shown since his time that the pure Arab can outlast anything on four legs at his own pace; but that, for sheer speed, the worst plater on the Turf to-day can give him two stone and a beating over a mile course.

But I must not yet enter into comparative questions of speed or deterioration, which almost deserve a volume to themselves. It will be sufficient to repeat that "O'Kelly's gang," who are supposed to have fleeced the Turf at large during 1769 and 1770, made very little in prizes, and had to pay so highly for the privilege of betting that only the capitalists among them could have ever speculated much. One point, too, must always be given in their favour, for it shows they resisted as strong a temptation as any racecourse blackguard ever had. They never "stopped" the favourite. *Eclipse* was never beaten "by an accident."

O'Kelly's real fun began when *Eclipse* had stood a year or two as a stallion at Clay Hill, Epsom; and the engraving in the British Museum, after the picture Stubbs painted for the lucky Irishman, is dated October 1773. It was doubtless done, as were so many of those in the superb collection of Mr. Tattersall's albums, as a kind of advertisement in the first instance, though that was little wanted for so famous an animal; for *Eclipse's* fee at first was 50 guineas. In 1772 it fell to 25; after 1774, by subscription, forty mares, besides his owner's, at 30 guineas; and this the same to all in 1779. In 1781 it had fallen to 20, but from 1785 till his death he could command 30.

O'Kelly was not a modest man; but he saw no use in exaggeration; and £25,000 is the total of the gains he admitted



RELEASE GALLOPING OVER THE BEACON COLISE.
After the painting by Sarlatius in the possession of M. Jean Stern, Chantilly.

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from his good horse at the stud. Mr. Fenwick cleared £17,000 by *Matchem*, and Mr. Martindale a good deal less by *Regulus*; so that *Eclipse's* gains are comparatively heavy, and his get secured the enormous sum (for those cautious days) of £158,047 between 344 winners in 23 years, besides various other victories by *Pot8os*, *Empress*, *Young Eclipse*, *Dungannon*, *Gunpowder* and *Meteor*, chiefly at Newmarket, between 1779 and 1789. Of course this will not stand comparison with such modern records as that of *St. Simon*; but there was far less money to be run for a hundred years ago, and the total has usually been misprinted to read £518,047, apparently with the object of equalling *St. Simon's* extraordinary results. These latter are worth recording here, as a comparison, in the dozen years, for which I can quote the stud-groom's figures. Without including place-money or races abroad, the figures of *St. Simon's* winning stock are as follows:

1889	...	£24,286	1895	...	£30,469
1890	...	£32,799	1896	...	£59,740
1891	...	£25,890	1897	...	£22,541
1892	...	£56,139	1898	...	£15,210
1893	...	£36,319	1899	...	£17,505
1894	...	£42,092	1900	...	£54,460

This means an annual average (for twelve years) of £34,212 won in prizes by animals of which the undefeated *St. Simon* was the sire; and the Duke of Portland's famous horse traces back through *Galopin*, *Vedette*, *Voltigeur*, *Voltaire*, *Blacklock*, *Whitelock*, *Hambletonian* and *King Fergus*, in direct male line to *Eclipse*.

But questions of breeding I must reserve till later. The appropriate ending to this chapter on *Eclipse's* racing record is the letter written by his owner's nephew and heir concerning his pace, which, it will be seen, had reached proportions as legendary and as exaggerated as the total of his stock's winnings by so early a date as 1814. They were still betting about it in Admiral Rous's day. The letter, of which I reproduce the original, runs as follows:

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Endorsed.—To Mr. Cross, St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, respecting Eclipse's having run a mile in a minute. May 10, 1814.

Lt.-Col. O'Kelly presents his compts to Mr. Cross and in answer to his Q.

Did the celebrated horse Eclipse ever run over a mile of ground within the space of one minute?

begs leave to inform him that Eclipse never having been tried against time it is impossible to say whether he ever did accomplish a mile within this time, altho' he was reputed the fastest horse that was ever bred in England.

Half Moon St., May 10, 1814.

The Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Dennis O'Kelly who wrote this was not the man who bought and raced *Eclipse*; and it is to his uncle, to the unknown Irishman whose bulldog physiognomy adorns my frontispiece, that I must now turn. *Eclipse's* owner was a remarkable man, as befitted one whose name is linked for all time with the most celebrated horse in the history of racing.

CHAPTER VI

DENNIS O'KELLY

Risus dolore miscebitur et extrema gaudii luctus occupat

PART I.—EARLY DAYS

Family Papers—Miniature by Lochee—Characteristic Features—The O'Kellys of Tullow—The Grattans, Harveys, and Esmondés—Early Days—Barry Lyndon and Tregonwell Frampton—The Sedan Chair—Dr. Johnson—Irishmen on the Turf—Buck Whaley—The Prince's Stakes—Early Days in Town—The Fleet Prison—The "Count"—Charlotte Hayes—Blacklegs on the Turf—Gambling Hells—Betting—Sixteen New Offences—Chances of Breeding—Dennis in 1766—Purchases in 1769—Clay Hill—The Racing Stud—"Cross and Jostle"—Retaining a Jockey—"The Blacklegged Fraternity"—Hospitable Gatherings—Good Points in the Character of Dennis—The Militia Title—Did he Fight in America?—The Two "Colonel O'Kellys."

ONE of the greatest revolutions in the verdicts passed by my predecessors, which was created by the appearance of the manuscript memoranda of the O'Kelly family mentioned in my preface, was the entire revision of the character and personality of the owner of *Eclipse* as it has hitherto been accepted. Before these papers were put into my hands, my only authorities consisted of scattered references in various books on racing, a few contemporary newspapers and magazines, and some scurrilous memoirs printed soon after Dennis O'Kelly's death, which I have now found reason to use with great caution. Of these latter the larger part has been relegated to my Appendix for the edification of the curious and the avoidance of all scruple and doubtfulness.

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It will be realised that with one part of the family papers in Ireland and another in Yorkshire, it was only owing to the generosity and forbearance of their respective owners that I have been able to select what few surviving traces of O'Kelly's life can be deciphered among a mass of documents which had not been searched for this purpose before. There are, therefore, gaps in my narrative of facts which I can only fill by those conjectures which appear most probable after a careful consideration of the subject and of the new material before me. Those who criticise this method will perhaps be charitable enough to remember that, faulty as it may be, it should produce results considerably superior to any that have not been based on the assistance so fortunately rendered to the present writer. To take one point only: I doubt whether the general public, or even the world of racing, has before seen an authentic portrait of Dennis O'Kelly.

My frontispiece is an enlarged autotype from a beautiful little cameo mounted in gold now in the possession of Major Langdale, who inherited it from his mother, the daughter of Mary O'Kelly Harvey. It very probably formed part of a mourning-ring made, according to the fashion of those days, to be given to Dennis O'Kelly's relatives and friends after his funeral, or perhaps to be kept only by his heir. I deduce this from the appearance in an account-book kept by Andrew Dennis O'Kelly, nephew and heir of *Eclipse's* owner, of the item

“To Lochee, Limner, £5 5 0.”

which is dated July 2, 1788. Dennis O'Kelly died in December 1787. Further, in Tassie's list, number 14,334 is “Cameo, A bust of Count O'Kelly modelled by Lochee.” The title of “Count” is one that is frequently given to Dennis, and we shall see later the reason for which his contemporaries thought he held it. I never find it used of his nephew, or of any other member of the family. Lochee (whose name may have been derived from the northern suburb of Dundee) lived in the Haymarket, and was “portrait-

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modeller to the Royal Princes." He was employed by Wedgwood in the second half of the eighteenth century, and was an exquisite craftsman in small things. He is known to have been working at Stowe in December 1787, and again in the following March (four months before his name appears in the young O'Kelly's account-book) when he was accompanied by an assistant named Plast, and obtained copies of the finest gems in the Duke of Buckingham's possession, made after the same style as the O'Kelly cameo. Several examples of his modelling may be seen in the British Museum.

The face is an undoubted and very characteristic portrait. It is not that of a common man of unknown origin, for there are traces of good blood in it as well as of hard bone. The eye is well set, and there is breeding about the lines of the nose. The length of the upper lip may be an Irish feature. The bulldog jowl and the retreating brow are its worst points. They show great strength of purpose combined with lack of imagination; and the sturdy neck and bulging back of the head indicate similar qualities of dogged virility. The lips are thin, with little humour in them, and for the completion of the analysis it is a pity that the ears are hidden. The man, as Lochee thus reveals him, is the very mixture of good and evil which most of us are, a mixture which only accentuates the contradiction of its elements in a man who lives hard, who has had to fight his way up in the world, and who possesses the qualities—both physical and temperamental—requisite for success in a rough struggle against very varying kinds of opposition. No hindrance stopped O'Kelly; and you can see that in his face. But he drew the line at some things; and you can see that too. He reminds me, in character, of a greater man I have already mentioned, of the opponent of *Eclipse's* breeder on the field of Fontenoy, of that Marshal Saxe who had all the daring of a man of breeding with none of the highest prerogatives of birth—the courage that has to suffice, not for the son only, but the unacknowledged father

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too. That O'Kelly, when he came to England, was "lord of his presence and no land beside," is true enough: that he was as ready to hang a calfskin on the recreant limbs of any soft-hearted opponent, is true enough as well. But as far as I can find out he was the legitimate son of Philip O'Kelly, of Tullow, in County Carlow, a poor squireen of an old house, whose boys had to fend for themselves, and left for England, at a fairly early age, to do it. The O'Kellys of Grange and Ballymurchoe have died out, and of the direct line of *Eclipse's* owner, there are none, for he was childless and succeeded by his nephew, who survived his children.

But the O'Kelly genealogy is full of interest, and the marriages that occurred in it soon after the death of Dennis prove pretty conclusively that he cannot have been the blackguard he has hitherto been thought. I shall have more to say of these collateral descendants of his when I describe his nephew's career upon the Turf, so it will be sufficient to say now that his sister Mary married Whitfield Harvey, who gave a name to *Eclipse's* daughter, *Miss Harvey*, granddam of *Sir Joshua*. Mary Harvey's son was Philip Whitfield Harvey, who was the real creator of *Freeman's Journal*, and married Frances Tracy, the heiress. Their daughter, Mary O'Kelly Harvey (of Glenwood, Co. Wicklow) married Henry Grattan, M.P. (b. 1787) who brought into this family the Celbridge property which had come to the Grattans from Dean Marlay, afterwards Bishop of Waterford. This Henry Grattan, whose brother married Lord Dysart's sister, and died at Waterloo, was the son of the great Henry Grattan, who was buried in Westminster Abbey, and of Henrietta Fitzgerald. Mary O'Kelly Harvey (who became, as we have seen, Mrs. Grattan) had six children, and the eldest daughter married a Langdale of Houghton in Yorkshire, whose son lent me the portrait-cameo of Dennis O'Kelly and many racing memoranda for this book. The fourth of the Grattan sisters, Louisa, married Sir John Esmonde, M.P., and their son, the present Sir

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Thomas Grattan Esmonde, M.P., lent me the charming painting of Andrew Dennis O'Kelly and a very large quantity of manuscripts relating to the family. Even if I had not said enough already, these manuscripts, to which I shall from time to time refer, would be alone sufficient to show that the owner of *Eclipse* was



THE START. BY ROWLANDSON

very far from being the graceless ruffian of obscure origin he has till now been pictured; and that he had learnt a good Italian hand is evident from the signature to a document drawn up in 1769, which I reproduce in this book.

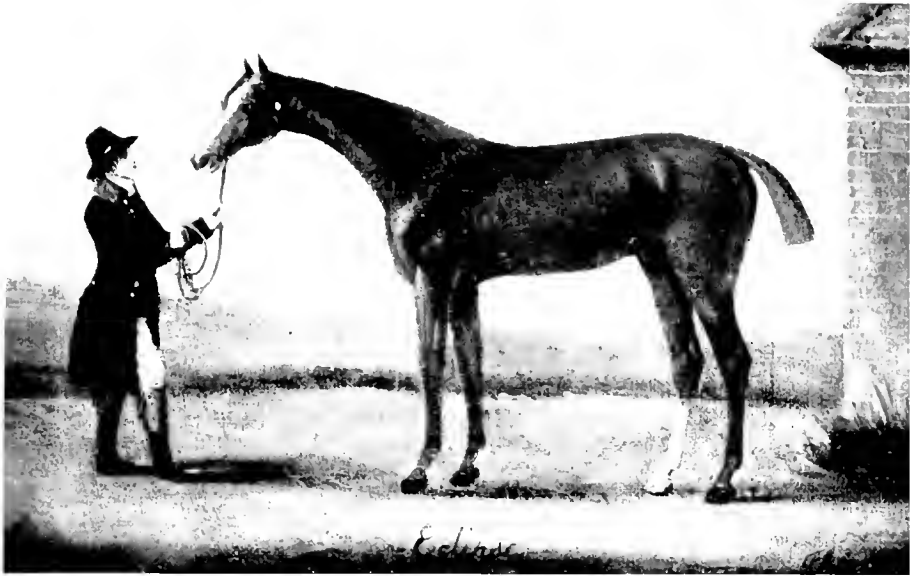
Dennis O'Kelly was born about 1720, and it seems likely that his elder brother Philip (who later on looked after the stud farm at Epson) was obliged to work at some trade or another to assist in supporting the family during the early days of their life in Ireland. Dennis seems to have grown restless first, and went over to England at about the age of five-and-twenty to make his fortune. Apart from the miniature reproduced here, it would be

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very difficult to get any idea of his personality, though he no doubt appears in Rowlandson's drawing of the Betting Room of the Jockey Club, and there is a strong tradition that his figure is again introduced in the same artist's charming sketches of the "Betting-Post" and the "Start;" but it must be remembered that these latter are rather caricatures than portraits. His broad shoulders and deep chest may have somewhat detracted from his height, which one writer, in the year of O'Kelly's death, puts at 5ft. 11 ins. while another calls him "a short, thick-set, dark, harsh-visaged, ruffian-looking fellow," yet admits that he could display "the ease, the agréments, the manners of a gentleman, and the attractive quaintness of a humorist."

His features [writes another eye-witness] were neither irregular nor unpleasing, though strongly marked with the *varnacular*; but his voice (the very reverse of melody) not only assailed but wounded the ear. It was what might be termed the broadest and most offensive brogue his nation ever produced.

The resultant image is something between Barry Lyndon in fiction and Tregonwell Frampton in fact, with a dash of practically successful and hard-headed ambition possessed by neither. The more I have read of the O'Kelly papers, which have been certainly unknown to most people since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the more amusement I find in recalling the details of two of Thackeray's most successful literary creations: Catherine Hayes and Barry Lyndon. Barry, you will remember, was very friendly with a gamekeeper who talked of "Fontenoy and Marshal Saxe and the opera-dancers;" and in the days when he was no longer "bitter poor," he once asked Dr. Johnson what horse will win at Epsom Downs next week, or could he shoot the ace of spades ten times without missing; nor was the doctor as unsympathetic as might have been imagined. Barry's father, too, might have been drawn from life not far from old O'Kelly's birthplace, for did he not keep seven racehorses while he was attorney's clerk and hunt regularly with the Kildare and Wicklow



ECLIPSE

From the painting by Sactorius in the possession of Julian Sampson, Esq.



ECLIPSE AT FULL GALLOP

From a print in the possession of H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, after the painting by Sactorius

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hounds? Did he not win the Plate at Newmarket with *Endymion* and attract the attention of his sovereign? Did he not live (and this is perhaps the strangest coincidence of all) "in a fine house in Clarges Street where gentlemen lost a few pieces at play?" And did he not drive his coach and six like a man of fashion and die at Chester Races? It is strangely like O'Kelly, without the manly fibre and resolute determination of *Eclipse's* owner.

This temperament was harmoniously welded to an iron constitution, with a keenly retentive memory and a surprisingly universal faculty of intuition; so that it was only a very short time before the youthful Dennis O'Kelly learnt his way about town and made up his mind about the various opportunities and personalities of London. It may well be true that the young Irishman had so hard a struggle to make his way at first that he was once compelled to take the front shafts of a sedan-chair, in which he cut so good a figure that one of his fares gave him the opportunity and the means to get a start in life and be imprisoned for debt like a gentleman. The details of this adventure, according to the memoirs of the time, must be read in my Appendix; but I need only say here that such an employment would not necessarily have done him much harm either in racing circles or in society about town later on. Richard Barrymore, for instance, known to his friends as "Hellgate," married the daughter of a sedan-chairman who was also niece of the notorious Lady Lade. This lively young person, who begun her career as the mistress of "Sixteen-string Jack," was the wife of Sir John Lade, the ward of Thrale and the friend of the Prince of Wales. In spite of all his faults, Sir John was a member of that aristocratic "Whip" Club which laid the foundation of the present "Four-in-Hand."

I may note, in passing, that Thrale's friend, Dr. Johnson, did not take his views of the turf entirely from the justly reprobated career of Sir John Lade; for it is a curious fact that, at the great lexicographer's funeral, one of his pall-bearers was a racing-man so distinguished in the

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history of Newmarket and Epsom as Sir Charles Bunbury. Besides this, the story of Dr. Johnson's visit to *Atlas* is well known, after that stout horse's match with Mr. Warner's *Careless* had been celebrated in enthusiastic rhymes. When the Doctor had examined this splendid animal at Chatsworth, he said he would rather own him than all the rest of the Duke's possessions.

If a sedan-chair, then, was not a bar to subsequent success, imprisonment for debt most certainly was not. Sir John Lade was, of course, imprisoned, and if we confine ourselves to Irishmen in society, there was George Hanger, the Prince's equerry, who had precisely the same experience, and Lord Belfast (afterwards Marquis of Donegal), who was a kind of racing partner with Dennis O'Kelly's nephew, and ran through something like half a million of money, as will be seen in later pages. Buck Whaley, or "Jerusalem Whaley," as he was usually known, is another well-known example of Hibernian extravagance. He was born in Dublin in 1766, only two years after *Eclipse*, and was son of the Member of Parliament for County Wicklow, who lived at 77 (now 87) St. Stephen's Green, so he was probably known to the O'Kellys, and to the Harveys later on. Young Whaley certainly went the pace as long as he had money left, both in Paris and elsewhere; and after emerging from the inevitable debtor's prison he retired for a space to the Isle of Man, where he built the house now known as the Fort Anne Hotel. He brought back from the Eastern travels, which earned him his nickname, a fine Arabian stallion which unfortunately died. He did a little racing at Brighton, and at Newmarket, where he lost 2000 guineas to Charles James Fox, and 6000 to the Duke of York on the gambling-table; and he once detected a player using false dice, which he forthwith seized and sent to Sir Charles Bunbury, the racing Dictator of his day. Being the brother-in-law of Lord Clare, and certainly for a short time in the Prince of Wales's set, he was elected a Member of Parliament when such ambitions seemed hopelessly out of reach of a man whose fortune had been squandered. But

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his career is smirched by the acceptance of a bribe of £2000 to vote in favour of the Union, and he died at the early age of thirty-four, exactly four months after the Treaty was signed between Great Britain and Ireland in 1800.

No such blot ever stained the record of Dennis O'Kelly. But there must have been something against "the Colonel" which I have been unable to discover, or otherwise the Jockey Club, in days of very considerable laxity, would almost certainly have elected the owner of *Eclipse*. The point gains in importance when it is realised that his nephew and heir, Andrew Dennis O'Kelly, was elected to the Jockey Club almost immediately after the uncle's death. But I am not inclined to exaggerate the villainy which severer censors might deduce from these hard facts. The Jockey Club has always been, and always will be, a society which elected the men it liked without much reference to claims which the outside public might consider as conclusive. Such considerations may have more weight nowadays when the Club's jurisdiction is immeasurably wider in every manifestation of racing activity. But in its earliest days, from 1752 to the date of O'Kelly's death, thirty-five years later, such questions had not arisen, and elections were no doubt largely determined by private reasons into which it may be just as well that the historian is prevented from entering by complete lack of all material.

The manuscript draft still exists of the "Prince's Stakes," which was drawn up in 1784, and placed in the rooms of the Jockey Club, for "colts 8st. 3lbs., fillies 8st., New Flat. To be run at the first and second Spring Meetings of 1785, 6, and 7. Sweepstakes of 200 guineas. Half-forfeit." The list of entries is headed by "George P. (3)." After him are written "Bolton, Earl of Abingdon (3), Foley (1), Thos. Bullock (2), Tho. Douglas (1), Grosvenor (3), Chartris (2), Wm. Davis (1), Derby (2), D. O'Kelly (3), Sherborne (3), Boringdon (1), M. Lade (1), Tho. Panton (3), T. Charles Bunbury (1), Grafton (1), F. Dawson (1), Clermont (2), Egremont (3), and Charles Wyndham (2)."

This is a good epitome of the racing-men of 1784, and its

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chief interest for these pages is the inclusion of the name of Dennis O'Kelly, who died on December 28, 1787, and who had just won the Derby for the second time when this paper was put up at Newmarket for signatures. It shows, at any rate, that Dennis had done nothing which would prevent Sir Charles Bunbury, Lord Grosvenor, or Lord Clermont racing their horses against his; and it was impossible to say as much as this for the Prince of Wales himself in 1791; but of this I shall have more to say later on, and it must not be imagined that there is any more evidence for the verdict of Sir Charles Bunbury, which drove the Prince from Newmarket for ever, than there is for the reasons which excluded Dennis O'Kelly from a club whose members were content to race with him.

The consideration of the legendary sedan-chair has carried us on a little too fast in the description of our hero's life, but I need only return to that adventure to say that the dashing young Irishman, whose fortunes began in the romantic manner sketched in my Appendix, was speedily enabled to start life on his own account soon after the divorce of his too impressionable patroness had deprived them both of their chief source of income. We can imagine him spending his savings with a fine freedom at Vauxhall, or at the playhouses, the tennis-courts, the gambling-tables and billiard-rooms of London's sporting set. He never forgot business in the pursuit of pleasure, and by this time he had already made the acquaintance of such men as the young Duke of Richmond or Sir William Draper; but he cannot be said to have bought his experience cheaply, for he was soon reduced to marking games he once had played, and shortly afterwards the doom he could avoid no longer fell upon him. Where such fortunes as those of Lord Foley or "Alcibiades" Jennings were insufficient, it was not likely that the restricted total acquired by the poor Irish squireen's son would last the strain. He found himself in debt and penniless. The turn of the tide did not come till he had been imprisoned in the Fleet.

Even here his high spirits and determination never

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forsook him. According to the custom of the place, his utter lack of money led to the necessity for work of some kind. He threw himself into whatever had to be done with so much vigour and success that his fellow-prisoners are said to have gratified him with the courtesy-title of "Count" by the mandate of the "king" they elected to preside over that strangely-assorted company. The title, in any case, stuck to Dennis all his life, even in such sedate publications as Tassie's list of medallions, from which I have already quoted; and I think it is hardly probable that he ever wasted money in purchasing it abroad, as was sometimes the custom then. He knew very well that a military flavour to his name would suit the case much better, and no doubt it was on the colonelcy he certainly obtained that he expended whatever sums he considered advisable for the adornment of his patronymic.

But something else of a far more real and lasting nature resulted from his sojourn in the Fleet Prison; for there he met Charlotte Hayes, who has sometimes had the reputation of being more like Thackeray's "Catherine" than I think is probable, though I fear I cannot go further than a warning against exaggeration. She immediately realised O'Kelly's qualities, and, whatever she may have been before, she was certainly faithful to him ever afterwards, from the moment when they matured their plans in prison for the freedom that came sooner than they thought. Her name occurs as "Charlotte Hayes, called Mrs. O'Kelly, who now lives and resides with me" in the will of Dennis, who left her an annuity of £400, secured on his estate of Cannons, which was left to her use for life; and whenever there was any question of this property changing hands, that annuity is invariably and most carefully safeguarded. As is the habit of annuitants, she lived long and died at over eighty-five in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Her position is recognised in numbers of legal documents. In 1808, for instance, a lawyer's draft contains the statement that the Cannons estate stood charged with "the payment of an annuity or rent charge of four hundred pounds a year to

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Mrs. Charlotte O'Kelly, widow of the late Dennis O'Kelly, Esq." ; and in the auctioneer's catalogue of Cannons in 1811 the annuity is again mentioned, and the lady's age stated at "about 85 years."

It was the death of George II. in London, on October 25, 1760, that liberated Dennis O'Kelly and his Charlotte from their durance. She may not have been in the front rank of "those pervading Phrynes whose charms the painters delighted to honour": Kitty Fisher, Nelly O'Brien, who entertained "this side the Star and Garter" in Pall Mall; Polly Kennedy, whose attractions were persuasive enough to save her brothers from the hangman; Annie Elliott, posing as Juno, or Nancy Parsons, whom Horace Walpole describes as "the Duke of Grafton's Mrs. Horton, the Duke of Dorset's Mrs. Horton, everybody's Mrs. Horton." But Charlotte seems to have had the great merit of a sincere fidelity which made every one forget her origins, and the affection undoubtedly felt for her by Dennis was shared by the rest of his family before he died. It is probable that when they began their freedom together in London, he divided his time chiefly between the equally fashionable pursuits of gambling and horse-racing.

A contemporary admirer of the Duke of Cumberland (who died in October 1765) describes that His Royal Highness's efforts to improve racing were not effected. "without an immensity of expense and an incredible succession of losses to the sharks, greeks and blacklegs of that time, by whom H.R.H. was surrounded, and of course incessantly pillaged." The common adventurer had no doubt an easier time then than he has now. One reason may have been that the professional bookmaker had not yet arisen in his vociferous (but mainly honest) glory; and the professional backer was as yet only sketched in the universal brain of Charles Fox, who once, at a late sitting in White's, "planned out a kind of itinerent trade" (Selwyn is writing to Lord Carlisle) "which was going from horse-race to horse-race, and so by knowing the value and speed of all the horses in



TRICKS OF THE TURF

By Rowlandson

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England to acquire a certain fortune." Unfortunately, the horse was by no means the only "instrument of gambling" among gentlemen of that day. They betted on anything with the greatest recklessness and unanimity. Whist and casino were taught in many of the girl-schools of 1797. People played cards all their lives, and, as an irreverent wag observed, they died in joyful expectation of the last trump. The organisation of a gambling hell has been excellently reconstructed by Besant.

First came the Commissioner who audited the accounts, with a Director under him to superintend the Rooms, and an Operator to deal cards. Then there were Croupiers who gathered money for the bank; Puffs to decoy the players; a Clerk to check the Puffs; a Flasher to "swear the Bank was broke;" a Dunner to get losses out of needy gentlemen; a Captain to fight any discontented player; a sharp Attorney to draw up any necessary deeds whenever wanted; Waiters for the candles and refreshments; Ushers to conduct the company up and down; Runners who got half a guinea every time they warned the Porter that there were Constables without, and a whole gang of unattached ruffians in the shape of link-boys, coachmen, chairmen, drawers, common bail affidavit men, and bravoos of the lowest type. Hogarth adds a characteristic touch in the highwayman, whose pistols peep out of his pocket, waiting by the fireside till the heaviest winner goes, so that he may recoup his own losses in the speediest fashion. Rowlandson and Gilray have left numbers of pictures of the scene to which such men as Dick England, Tetherington, Hall, and others formed a background. At John Medley's (sometimes called Jack Munday) who kept the coffee-house in Round Court, Strand, it was always possible to get a bet, from five pounds to five hundred. On Sundays there was a "play or pay" dinner at 4s. a-head, calculated for the return of riders from Rotten Row. John Lawrence (who wrote a good book on the horse) often visited it; and the strange thing is that aristocrats, from Princes of the royal blood downwards, were quite content to lose money there as well.

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The Turf had its blacklegs too. Quick and Castle are probably the earliest examples known of "undesirable persons" who were "warned off" by the public (in 1773) before the Jockey Club had time to take action of its own. As a matter of fact the connection of the Jockey Club with betting is too delicate a question for these pages, which are meant to be a record rather than a criticism; but the attitude of the Duke of Portland to the whole matter may be taken as that of common sense and justice. He no



THE BETTING POST. BY ROWLANDSON

doubt recognises that without betting of some kind or another there would be very little racing—a result that would be deeply deplored by many who are loudest in attacking the evils of "the Ring." But he also sees that betting has, owing to various modern developments, reached a stage very different from that known at any period of its history.

In the old days people used to bet with other men of their acquaintance. By degrees owners found their own circle rather too restricted, and as they were naturally more ready to support their own horses than to decry their friends', they were glad enough to find a class of persons ready to bet against anything. That class had been supplied to meet the inevitable demand. The Jockey Club

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very possibly never realised what the result of toleration in the early days would be. In any case they not only tolerated but encouraged the bookmaker. Their one real objection seemed to be the tout, his natural and inevitable corollary. They ought now to go a little farther, and if they do not do so themselves, unnecessary and exaggerated legislation will slip in and do incalculable damage. Before it is too late, the gentlemen responsible for the good conduct of the Turf must devise some means for stopping the widespread loss and misery caused by people betting who never saw the horse they back, would not know him if they did see him, and know nothing about his powers or preparation. Some system of licensing bookmakers seems necessary. Unless the Jockey Club ceases its transparent legal fiction about "taking no cognisance of betting," disorder of the most serious kind is sure to follow; for damage cannot fail to be inflicted on the sport they exist to foster and improve, if legislation interferes too far with the liberty of the subject.

Already a Bill has been passed (Dec. 1906) by which a man can be walked off to prison like a common felon because he makes a bet, and can be arrested without a warrant after a fashion unknown to any Irish Coercion Act passed by Parliament during the last twenty years. If these drastic and painful provisions be sufficiently enforced to suppress betting on horse-races, the gambling spirit will take much less excusable forms. "Naturam expellas furca. . . ." It has been found before, that the undue repression of certain forms of natural instinct only results in fresh and far less desirable complications. If this should happen in the case of betting, there will soon be a heavy price to pay for the privileges of an autocratic policeman who may not be wholly aware of all the facts he has to face, and for the addition of sixteen hitherto unknown offences to our criminal law. It may be questioned whether the remedy will not prove worse than the disease.

O'Kelly's friends were innocent of "S. P." wires, or "sporting tipsters" in a morning paper, or telephones, or many a modern means of backsliding. They were exploit-

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ing what was practically a new country discovered about 1750; and they found something more exciting than cock-fighting, less dangerous than loaded dice, and sometimes as lucrative as either:—"the high-mettled racer." The Turf was just beginning to get that organisation which is typified by the "classic" races, by such names as Weatherby and Tattersall, by the first regular judge at Newmarket (John Hilton, appointed in 1772), by other such officials as a Clerk of the Scales (John Hammond), and a starter (Samuel Betts). It only needed such support as that given by the Duke of Cumberland and the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) to establish racing not merely as a fashionable pursuit, but as an organised amusement. And from all this O'Kelly and his friends knew well how to make their profit.

They soon realised that fortune, if not fame, was possible even to a man who, far from having no royal blood in his veins, had no handle to his name at all. It must have been a strain to some members of the Jockey Club to admit even so good a sportsman as John Pratt of Askrigg. They could never swallow Mr. Martindale, though *Regulus* had long ago wiped out the blemish of the saddler's shop. When two St. Legers could be won by an ex-stable boy, the Mr. Hutchinson who bred *Hambletonian* as well, it was difficult to remain wholly exclusive; and the toast of "The Hammer and *Highflyer*" was cheered by many a man whose father would never have entered the dining-room of an auctioneer. The accidents of breeding assisted the same process of slow but steady democratisation; for a first-rate mare may suddenly turn up in the possession of any owner of good blood-stock. *Penelope*, who won eighteen races for the Duke of Grafton, was the dam of *Whalebone*, *Web*, *Woful*, and *Whisker*. Out of another mare, who was so crippled that she could never race, was born a common-looking son who was never in perfect health and was very often lame; and his name was *Gladiator*. The famous Tartar mare, to prove the point still further, was sold so cheaply to O'Kelly that she turned out to be worth as many



HUGFLEYER BY HEROD
From an engraving after Colpo's picture

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thousands after she was twenty as she had cost sovereigns to her clever purchaser. But of course none of these instances come up to the combination of foresight and good fortune which resulted in the possession of *Eclipse*; and I should like to think that this good horse worked a kind of gradual regeneration, wherever it was necessary, in his owner which completed the possibilities of Dennis as good company both for my readers and for Sir Charles Bunbury's friends. In any case it is all to his credit that a certain ingrained virility of nature enabled him to triumph over the undoubted drawbacks of the beginning of his career, and to own, before its close, not merely the finest horse, but the best stud, and one of the best estates in England.

There are just a few traces of Dennis before *Eclipse* brought his name into prominence, which must be mentioned here, for they show that he reached a certain measure of prosperity before the son of *Marske* and *Spilletta* completed his good fortune, whether he obtained it by keeping a gambling-room, which several well-known members of the aristocracy had done as well, or whether—as has sometimes been darkly hinted—he profited by less excusable investments on the part of Charlotte, of which we have no proof whatever.

The first manuscript referring to him which I have been able to discover shows that he had bought a house near Willesden by 1766. It runs as follows :

May 15, 1766.—Received from Dennis O'Kelly, Esq., the sum of seventy-one pounds as part of the consideration for the freehold estate in the parish of Willesden in y^e County of Middlesex which I promise to have conveyed and executed for him in ten days from the date hereof. The conditions of this is that Mr. Benjamin Browne is to have one hundred and ten pounds for the aforesaid estate

By me, BENJ. BROWNE.

Witness : R. BYRNE.

J. M. HALSY.

The next document is the one from which his signature is reproduced, and that alone shows a man of education whose handwriting was better than that of most of his

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friends. It is the grant of annuity arranged by an indenture drawn up on December 11, 1769, between "Dennis O'Kelly, of the Parish of St. James's, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, of the one part, and John Sherwood, of Shadwell, in the said County of Middlesex, Esquire, of the other part." By this instrument Sherwood lends O'Kelly £1500 in consideration of an annuity of £100 a year for life, secured by O'Kelly's house in "Clergy" (? Clarges) Street, in the Parish of St. James's, in which Robert Tilson Jean was living, and his house in Marlborough Street, where he lived himself, and also his house at Clay Hill, near Epsom, "in the parish of Ebbisham, in the county of Surrey," then in his occupation. On the back of the indenture is the receipt for the repayment of the £1500 in 1775.

Several interesting facts appear from this document. To begin with, it is clear that before *Eclipse* ever raced upon "the scented turf of Epsom Downs," O'Kelly had a house and grounds there not far from the site of Sherwood's establishment to-day. This was convenient, both for what was then used as the saddling enclosure, and for the betting ring, which were on opposite sides of the course near the start, and I shall have more to say of the Clay Hill property later on. For the present the indenture just quoted is conclusive evidence that, when William Wildman tried *Eclipse* over this course in 1769, O'Kelly had a house close by, and probably had racing stables too; for there were certainly all the appurtenances of a regular stud farm there, managed by his brother Philip, for some years after the death of Dennis. *Eclipse's* first race was in May 1769. Before 1770 was over, O'Kelly had bought him. Even if the 1750 guineas cash, which has been mentioned, was "without contingencies," the purchase shows that O'Kelly was already a man of substance, and it stands in racing history as bold a deal as M. Blanc's sensational purchase of *Flying Fox*, with the additional virtue that it was based on far less trustworthy statistics. It also involved far less possibilities of recouping the original outlay. But O'Kelly proved himself quite equal to the task, and in fulfilling it

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he laid the English Turf under immortal obligations to him from the very moment when the first of *Eclipse's* get, the grey colt *Horizon* (out of *Clio*, by *Young Cade*,) won 390 guineas as a two-year-old at Abingdon in 1774. That good sire's blood was in three winners of the Derby (1781, 3, and 4) and one of the Oaks (1787), and through such splendid sons as *Pot8os*, *King Fergus*, *Joe Andrews*, *Mercury* and *Alexander*, it appears in the pedigree of all the best English winners on the turf to-day.

O'Kelly's subsequent transactions showed alike his good sense and his diplomacy. He bought *Scaramouch* (by *Snaph*) at the Duke of Kingston's sale in 1774. He sold *Gunpowder* (by *Eclipse*) to the Prince of Wales, who won the Jockey Club Plate with him in 1788. He bought *Herod* mares whenever he could get them, with the same persistency as Mr. Tattersall searched for the *Eclipse* mares which, in his opinion, only existed to provide mates for *Highflyer*. In *Brutus*, *Badger* (or *Ploughboy*), *Young Gimcrack*, *Atom*, *Bamboo* (by *Scrub*), *Tiny*, *Milksop*, and others, he owned some of the best horses of the day, trained them at his stables near Epsom, and won nearly all the Royal Plates and "give and take" races in every part of the country. Though not able to make very much out of *Eclipse's* actual races, he cleared at least £25,000 over him as a sire, and he got so good a start that he never once looked back. His success on the turf, in fact, was even greater than it had been at the gaming-tables; and both paid him well.

"There was a good deal of crossing and unfair work among the inferior jockeys in old times"—writes "The Druid"—"which would be more heavily noticed now, and in fact it was often thought rather a good joke than otherwise. Captain O'Kelly, whose definition of 'the blacklegged fraternity' took such a very sweeping range, expressed his sentiments on the point at the Abingdon race ordinary (1775) when the terms of a 300 gs. match were being adjusted, and he was requested to stand half. 'No,' he roared; 'but if the match had been made *cross and jostle* as I proposed, I would have stood all the money; and by the powers I'd have brought a spalpeen from Newmarket, no higher than a twopenny loaf, that should have driven His lordship's horse into the furzes and kept him there for three weeks.'"

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“His natural shrewdness,” says an eighteenth-century historian, in words which explain “the Druid’s” allusion, combined with indefatigable industry and constant attention, “enabled him to counteract the various and almost incredible deceptions then in constant practice in the sporting world.” His originality and penetration were also responsible for much of what was put down too exclusively to luck ; as will be seen from the following anecdote, which displays, in passing, the one great grievance he must have cherished to the end, about the persistent refusal of the Jockey Club to admit him :

The better to expedite his own superiority, and to carry his well-planned schemes into successful execution, and in order to render himself less dependent on the incredible herd of necessitous sharks that surrounded every newly initiated adventurer, he determined to retain, exclusive of sudden and occasional changes, when circumstances required it, one rider, at a certain annual stipend, to ride for him whenever ordered so to do, for any plate, match or sweepstakes, but with the privilege of riding, for any other person, provided he (O’Kelly) had no horse entered to run for the same prize. Having adjusted such arrangement in his own mind, and fixed upon the intended object of his trust, he communicated his design, and entered upon negotiations ; when the monied terms being proposed, he not only instantly acquiesced, but voluntarily offered to double them, provided the party would enter into an engagement, and bind himself, under a penalty, never to ride for any of the *black-legged* fraternity. The consenting jockey saying, ‘he was at a loss to know who the captain meant by the black-legged fraternity ;’ he instantly replied with his usual energy, ‘O — my dear, and I’ll soon make you understand who I mean by the black-legged fraternity ! there’s the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Dorset, &c. ;’ naming the principal members of the Jockey Club, ‘and all the set of *thaves* that belong to the humbug societies, and *bug a boo* clubs, where they can meet, and rob one another without fear of detection.’

He was in the habit of carrying a great number of bank notes in his waistcoat pockets, crumpled up together with the greatest indifference. On one occasion being at a hazard table at Windsor during the races, a person’s hand was observed by those on the opposite side of the table, just in the act of drawing some notes out of O’Kelly’s pocket. On the alarm being given, the delinquent was seized, and the company were anxious that the offender should be immediately taken before a

Deaf O'Reilly presents his compliments
to Mr Croft, and in answer to his

Q. Did the celebrated horse Eclipse
ever run over one mile of ground
within the space of one minute?

begs leave to inform him, that Eclipse
never having been tried against time, it is
impossible to say, whether he ever did
accomplish a mile within this time -
altho' he was reported the fastest horse that
~~had ever ran~~ was ever bred in England

~~His Lordship that Cheltenham~~
~~was a hidden treasure~~

Halt Moon
14 May 10 1811

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magistrate : but O'Kelly very coolly seizing him by the collar, kicked the fellow downstairs, exclaiming, 'Twas sufficient punishment to be deprived the pleasure of keeping company with *jontlemen*.'

"Keeping company" was one of O'Kelly's chief delights, and with the help of the faithful Charlotte Hayes he made Clay Hill at Epsom renowned for its hospitality, as may be seen from the "Memoirs" already quoted :

The dispositions of Charlotte and the Count's, were in most respects congenial, but in nothing did they more entirely vibrate, than in hospitality and good living. They kept open house during the time of every public meeting ; and the Count, possessing, among other happy talents, that of reconciling apparent opposites, contrived to entertain the Peer and the Black Leg at the same table. The Duke of Cumberland and Dick England ; the Prince of Wales and Jack Tetherington ; Lord Egremont and Ned Bishop ; Lord Grosvenor and Monsieur Champreaux ; the Duke of Orleans and Jack Stacie ; Messieurs Leech, Piggot, Davis, Twycross, &c., &c., &c., &c., were frequently seen at the same table, and circulating the same bottle with equal familiarity and merriment. It must, however, be remarked, to the honour of the host, that he never, on any account or pretence whatsoever, permitted play or bets of any kind to be made at his table or in his house.

There were good points about Dennis, as may be seen. I do not think his refusal to bet in his own house was merely the sanctimonious parade of a virtue no one would suspect to be sincere. It was the result of a genuine effort to be as hospitable as possible to guests in a higher station of life than his own, an effort to put away for the moment everything connected with his former career which might have proved a legitimate hindrance to the harmony of the proceedings. He realised, in fact, that he had risen in the world, and had a natural wish to avoid reminding his new friends of his beginnings ; and for the same reason he put the famous proviso about his nephew's betting in his will, a place where its publicity was never likely to be of advantage to himself, and where its enforcement was meant to emphasise that the member of the Jockey Club (as his

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nephew and heir eventually became) was a very different person from the old "flashman" of Charlotte Hayes. Had he been merely reckless, his motto, after the Jockey Club's refusals, might have been "Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo." He might have played the king among the rascals. It is to his credit that he refrained, and took his own line steadfastly towards continuous improvement.

Besides this, he was always ready to contribute to charities, without distinction of country and religion. He helped his friends in their necessities. He called his family over to share in his good fortune, and appointed his brother Philip superintendent of the Clay Hill stables. The chosen heir was sent abroad to make the Grand Tour in Europe and accustom himself to that refined society to which his uncle's money was one day to lead him.

I have already explained that Dennis O'Kelly was occasionally given the title of "Count." His various military prefixes originated in a militia regiment of so extraordinary a character that no sketch of the Irishman's career would be complete without some mention of it. He was astute enough to see that "Count" would not do in the set where he meant to make his money. "Colonel" sounded better. The women liked a soldier. A colonel, therefore, he became; but only after a regular rise from the position of ensign in a most irregular corps, which is described in my Appendix.

In any case we may be sure that O'Kelly was glad to wear a uniform in town, if only as a change from the "old round hat and short striped Orleans coat" in which he was seen posing as the oracle of the betting-ring at Epsom in 1779.

A memorandum written and signed by Mary O'Kelly Grattan, the granddaughter of Dennis's sister Mary, mentions some facts, as she knew them, concerning "Colonel Dennis O'Kelly of Cannons, Co. Middlesex, Clay Hill, Surrey, and Half Moon Street, London. . . . He was a captain in the English army and served in America. His

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commission which I have, as Colonel in the Middlesex militia, bears date 1782."

The date seems appropriate enough, as it is the year after Cornwallis's surrender practically ended the inglorious campaign necessitated by the American Revolution which began in 1775; and in 1783 we have one of O'Kelly's colts called *Volunteer*, a name he changed to *Cornet* in the Derby. But I have definite traces of Dennis O'Kelly being in England so often between 1775 and 1781 that I can scarcely imagine how he fitted in a campaign across the Atlantic, where George Hanger, a compatriot of his, and brother to Lord Coleraine, served with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel's Hessian Jaegers, and with Tarleton's Light Dragoons in 1782. The "Affaire Rochefort," mentioned in my Appendix, is one of the proofs that Dennis was not often absent at that time: and if he did really serve in America (which I am inclined to doubt) it may have been in the more satisfactory fighting of the French and Indian War which ended with the cession of Canada to England at the Peace of Paris in 1762. It seems to me more likely—with every deference to his collateral descendant's memorandum—that his service began and ended in the Middlesex militia which gave him his military prefix, whether the "Memoirs" quoted in the Appendix are correct or not, in the astonishing description they give of the regiment. His heir, Andrew, was a captain in the Westminster militia, and his purchase of the Lt.-Colonelcy is dated 1795, while the Prince interests himself in his change of regiment in 1796. This is another reason why mistakes have been concerning the two persons called "Colonel O'Kelly." It was with the younger man, for instance, that all the trouble about Lord Donegal should be connected which is usually put down to the uncle.

CHAPTER VI

DENNIS O'KELLY (*continued*)

A Dan auditus est fremitus equorum ejus ; a voce hinnituum pugnatorum ejus commota est omnis terra

PART II.—A GOOD FINISH

The Tartar Mare—The O'Kelly Stud—Two Derby Winners—*Eclipse's* Sons—Weatherby's Bill—Lord Abingdon's Bill—Tattersall's Sale—Famous Sales after it—Charlotte in the Marshalsea—Her Annuity—Her Remarkable Parrot—The Royal Family in Church—The Parrot's Death—The Drive to Edgeware—The Estate of Cannons—The Duke of Chandos—Whitchurch or Stanmore Parva—Handel's Anthems—Cannons Park—Particulars of the Sale—Dennis O'Kelly's Will—His Character.

ECLIPSE was not the only sensible purchase Dennis O'Kelly made ; and his possession of the celebrated *Tartar* mare shows that his racing stud was chosen with very remarkable sagacity. Among his racing memoranda is a very interesting manuscript setting forth her merits. The youngest of the ten chestnuts (five colts and five fillies, with *Jupiter* and *Mercury* among them) which she threw to *Eclipse* from 1772 to 1785 was *Queen Mab* who was in Lord Strathmore's stud from 1795 to 1808, tended by John Smith, who gave her history at Streatlam to "the Druid." The contemporary memoranda about her dam are as follows :

"From the *Old Tartar Mare* Col. O'Kelly bred four colts by *Eclipse* sold as follows :

<i>Antiochus</i> to Sir John Lade for	1500 gs.
<i>Jupiter</i> to Mr. Douglas	1000 gs.

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<i>Adonis</i> to Sir John Lade	1000 gs.
<i>Mercury</i> to Lord Egremont	2500 gs.
Besides this, Mr. Graham offered the Colonel 5000 guineas for <i>Volunteer</i> .	
Of her daughters, <i>Venus</i> was sold to Lord Egremont for	1200 gs.
and produced from 1782 to 1797 five colts and seven fillies.	
The dam of <i>Crazy</i> was sold to Mr. Broadhurst for	300 gs.
and a <i>Herod</i> mare, and produced from 1786 to 1792 two colts and two fillies.	
<i>Lily of the Valley</i> was sold to the Duke of Bedford for	700 gs.
and produced from 1785 to 1799 five colts and six fillies.	
<i>Boniface</i> was sold to Mr. Bullock for	250 gs.
and a <i>Herod</i> mare, and produced from 1790 to 1799 four colts and five fillies.	
<i>Queen Mab</i> was sold to the Hon. George Bowes for	650 gs.
and produced from 1790 to 1803 ten colts and three fillies.	

This *Queen Mab* was the last foal the *Old Tartar Mare* ever had, produced when she was thirty-six years of age, and she lived two year after and died at Cannons in 1787."

Among the rest of O'Kelly's racing stable, I have already mentioned *Scaramouch* (by *Snap*, out of sister to *Mirza*), who won the great subscription £340 10s., 5 yrs., 9st., 4 miles at York in August 1773. O'Kelly bought him at the Duke of Kingston's sale at Newmarket in July 1774, but won nothing more with him. The first of the classic races in which I find O'Kelly's name is the Oaks of 1779, so he began as soon as it was possible; but his sister to *Pot8os*, by *Eclipse*, ran unplaced. In 1780 his b. c. *Boudrow*, brother to *Vertumnus*, by *Eclipse*, ran second to Sir Charles Bunbury's *Diomed* in the first Derby, and his ch. f. *Lily of the Valley*, sister to *Venus*, by *Eclipse*, was fourth in the Oaks. In 1781 O'Kelly won the Derby with *Young Eclipse*, by *Eclipse*, out of *Juno*, by *Spectator*, and in 1784, at York, the same horse ran third to *Recovery* and *Monk*, 4 miles, 8st., six-year-olds, for His Majesty's hundred guineas, after which his fetlock-joint was dislocated. In 1782

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O'Kelly's ch. c. *Confederate*, by *Conductor*, was unplaced for the Derby, but he bred a famous mare afterwards known as the Confederate filly. In 1783 he had two colts in the Derby, which was full of *Eclipses*; for his b. c. *Dungannon*, by *Eclipse*, out of *Aspasia*, was second; his ch. c. *Cornet* (generally known as *Volunteer*) was fifth; and the race was won by Mr. Parker's *Saltram*, by *Eclipse*, out of *Virago*, by *Snap*. In the same season O'Kelly's *Primrose*, by *Eclipse*, ran third for the Oaks. I may add that *Dungannon* ran second to *Phenomenon* in the Doncaster Cup next year.

In 1784 O'Kelly won his second Derby with *Serjeant*, by *Eclipse*, out of *Aspasia*, by *Herod*; and I have seen Garrard's bill for the painting of that celebrated winner which is reproduced in these pages from a contemporary engraving. *Chaunter* and *Clarinet*, both by *Eclipse*, ran fourth and unplaced in the Derby of 1785, and *Bonny Face*, a sister of *Mercury*, was fourth for the Oaks that season. In 1786 O'Kelly's *Beau Clincher* was unplaced in the Derby, as was his famous bay filly *Scota*, by *Eclipse*; but she ran third for the Oaks. Two seconds were his record in the last year of his life, when *Augusta*, by *Eclipse*, was beaten for the Oaks, and his good chestnut, *Gunpowder*, by *Eclipse*, was second for the Derby on May 24, 1787. Before that December was over Death had beaten their owner too.

These are only some of the successes which illustrated Dennis O'Kelly's career upon the Turf, and as I find a bill from his brother Philip to the Prince of Wales, which begins in 1788, we may fairly argue that Dennis had several dealings before that time with the Prince, who was very intimate with his nephew Andrew, if the number of Royal I.O.U.s he bestowed upon him may be taken as an indication. It is also more than likely that the Irishman would be well acquainted with such habitués of Carlton House as Hanger or MacMahon; and it is also significant that *Eclipse's* jockey raced in scarlet and black cap, which were O'Kelly's colours to the end, and were singularly like the colour of dress affected by the royal party. It may be added that



ECLUSE

From a painting in the possession of H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein

DENNIS O'KELLY

the Prince was his own master by 1781, and opened Carlton House in 1784, the year when the list for the "Prince's Stakes" was put up in the Jockey Club at Newmarket, with O'Kelly's name following that of "George P." among all the aristocracy of the Turf.

I have reproduced one of Weatherby's receipts to O'Kelly. Here is another which shows that he was subscribing to the Coffee House at Newmarket down to the end of his life.

To DENNIS O'KELLY, ESQ ^r				
1786	Subs ⁿ to Coffehouse July Meeting	.	.	0 10 6
	do. to do. Octo. mgs.	.	.	2 12 6
1787	do. to do. Spring Mgs.	.	.	2 7 0
	do. to Calendar 1786	.	.	15 0
	do. for P. O'Kelly Esq. 84 & 85	.	.	1 10 0
	advertg. Stallions as per Bill	.	.	3 14 6
				£11 9 6
	23 Articles	.	.	2 17 6
				£14 7
	By Cash	.	.	14 7

J.W.

Another of these racing papers that shows O'Kelly's prominence on the Turf at this time is connected with that Lord Abingdon who bought *Marske*. It runs as follows:

Endorsed:—"The Earl of Abingdons Bill due for Stakes won at Newmarket from 1780 to 1786—

£475 2 6

Application to be made to Lord Abingdons Executors."

Stakes won at Newmarket by Col^l O'Kelly, due from the Earl of Abingdon.

		Gn ^s
1780	Monday 2 ^d Oct ^r meet ^s . Forfeit for Colt by Marske	. 95
1781	Thursday 1 st Spring Meet ^s 4th yr of a Subscription	. 25
—	Monday 1 st Oct ^r Meet ^s Forfeit for the 1400 G ^s	. 95

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		Gn ^s
1785	Tuesday 1 ^t Spring Meet ^s d ^o for 1200 G ^s	95
1786	Monday 1 st Spring Meet ^s d ^o for 1 st Class of the Prince's	47½
—	Tuesday d ^o d ^o for 1200 G ^s	95
		452½
		£475 2 6

JAMES WEATHERBY.

But the most interesting document of all, perhaps, in this connection, is the Catalogue of the Sale at Tattersall's after O'Kelly's death. Here it is, textually reprinted :

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, BY MESSRS. TATTERSALLS,

Near Hyde-Park Turnpike, On Monday the 11th of February, 1788.
Late the PROPERTY of COLONEL O'KELLY, Deceased,
Precisely at Twelve o'clock.

Lot

1. SOLDIER, a Chesnut Horse, eight years old, got by Eclipse, dam by Omar, grand dam by Sterling, great grand dam by the Godolphin Arabian, gt gt grand dam by Stanier's Arabian, gt gt gt grand dam by Pelham's Barb, gt gt gt gt grand dam by Old Spot, gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by the White-legged Lowther Barb, out of the Old Vintner Mare.
2. CHAUNTER, a Bay Horse, five years old, got by Eclipse, dam by Herod, out of an own sister to the dam of Highflyer.
3. SCOTA, a Bay Mare, four years old, got by Eclipse, out of Chaunter's dam.
4. AUGUSTA, a Chesnut Mare, three years old, got by Eclipse, out of Hardwick's dam.
5. GUNPOWDER, a Chesnut Horse, three years old, own brother to Soldier.
6. TROY, a Chesnut Colt, two years old, got by Vertumnus, dam by South, grand dam by Lord Godolphin's White Nose, great grand dam by a full brother to Mixbury.
7. KING HEREMON, a Chesnut Colt, two years old, got by Eclipse, dam by Herod, grand dam by old Snap, great grand dam by Regulus, gt gt grand dam by Old Partner, gt gt gt grand dam by Woodcock, gt gt gt gt grand dam by Croft's Bay Barb, gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by

Stakes won at Newmarket by Col. O'Reilly, due from the Earl of Abingdon.

1780	Monday 2 ^d Oct. Meetg	Forfeit for Colt by Macky	—	95
1781	Thursday 1 st Spring Meetg	4 th yr of a Subscription	—	25
—	Monday 1 st Oct. Meetg	Forfeit for the 1400 ^g	—	95
1785	Tuesday 1 st Spring Meetg	do for 1200 ^g	—	95
1786	Monday 1 st Spring Meetg	do for 1400 ^g of the Princes	47 ¹ / ₂	
—	Tuesday — do	do for 1200 ^g	—	95

452¹/₂ £475. 2:6

James Weatherby

DENNIS O'KELLY

Makeless, gt gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by Brimmer, gt gt gt gt gt gt gt grand dam by Dodsworth out of the Burton Barb Mare.

8. A BAY FILLY, two years old, own Sister to *Scota*.
9. A CHESNUT FILLY, two years old, got by *Eclipse*, dam by *Tartar*, grand dam by *Mogul*, great grand dam by *Sweepstakes*, gt gt grand dam by *Bay Bolton*, gt gt gt grand dam by the *Curwon Bay Barb* gt gt gt gt grand dam by *Old Spot*, out of the *Vintner Mare*.
This Filly is own Sister to *Volunteer* and *Mercury*.
10. A CHESNUT COLT, one year old, got by *Eclipse* or *Vertumnus*, out of *Dungannon's* dam.
11. A CHESNUT COLT, one year old, got by *Eclipse*, and is own Brother to *King Heremon*.
12. A CHESNUT COLT, one year old, got by *Eclipse*, dam by *Antinous* which is an own Sister to *Euston*.
13. A BAY COLT, one year old, got by *Eclipse*, dam by *Spectator*, grand dam by *Blank*, great grand dam by the *Godolphin Arabian*, gt gt grand dam by *Snip*, out of the famous *Witherington Mare*.
14. A BAY FILLY, one year old, got by *Jupiter*, dam by *Herod*.

This sale was attended by Mr. Edmund Bond, the famous veterinary surgeon, of whom I shall have more to say in speaking of the death and dissection of *Eclipse* in the next chapter. I have before me the catalogue with Mr. Bond's signature at the top, and the prices fetched for each lot marked on the margin in his handwriting, together with the valuation made by a certain Dr. Chitticks, and the reserve price he placed on each. As far as I can make out, Dr. Chitticks valued the fourteen at about 5000 guineas, and put on a reserve of nearly 3000. The total they fetched was £8321, and the biggest prices were :

No. 5.	<i>Gunpowder</i>	. . . . .	1400	gs.
No. 12.	<i>Chesnut colt</i>	. . . . .	1150	,,
No. 11.	<i>Chesnut colt</i>	. . . . .	1120	,,
No. 7.	<i>King Heremon</i>	. . . . .	750	,,
No. 13.	<i>Bay colt</i>	. . . . .	680	,,
No. 3.	<i>Scota</i>	. . . . .	550	,,
No. 1.	<i>Soldier</i>	. . . . .	500	,,

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

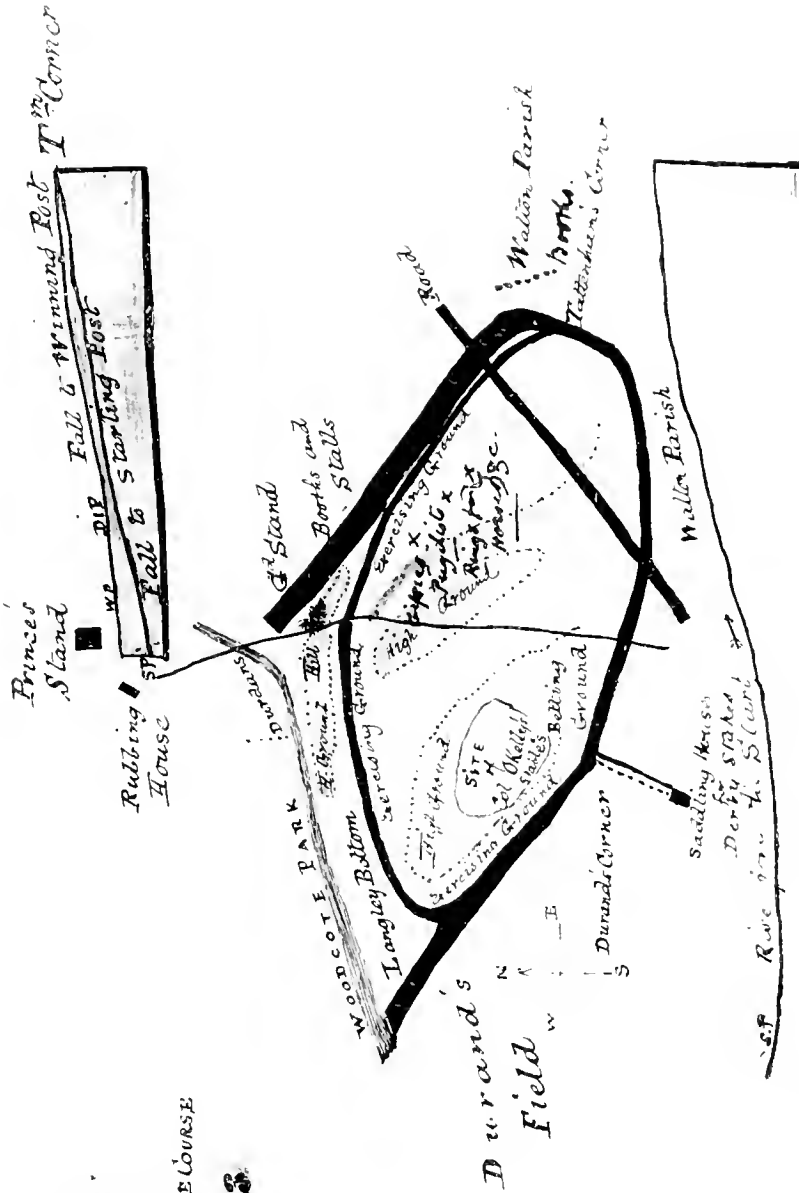
Probably few businesses have made such strides during the last fifty years as Tattersall's. A five days' sale of bloodstock realising upwards of 120,000 guineas would have sounded as impossible to old "Highflyer" as the single bids of 10,000 guineas for a yearling, 12,600 for a broodmare, or 37,500 for a horse in training. But money is not always the test of lasting value, and if blood is to count for anything there has been no sale since those of O'Kelly and his nephew which has had so great an effect on the subsequent history of racing until we come to Lord Londesborough's at Grimston, in 1860, when *Stockwell*, *West Australian* and *Warlock* were to be seen in the same ring, and the total was 20,489 guineas. Even the disposal of the royal stud when Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 only reached 15,692 guineas, and *Colonel* was the only one that fetched four figures. Mr. Edmund Tattersall's greatest sale was that of Lord Falmouth's stud in 1884, including *Spinaway* and *Wheel of Fortune*, when 75,640 guineas were realised. But prices like this had never been heard of in 1788.

After some years of dispensing hospitality to racing men at Clay Hill, the Epsom property, Charlotte Hayes seems to have left it entirely to the care of Philip O'Kelly, and lived in the house at the corner of Half-Moon Street and Piccadilly, which also belonged to Dennis. A document of 1777 shows that, up to this date at any rate, she had not quite succeeded in producing order and economy in her expenditure.

From a warrant and declaration taken out, it appears that the assignees of "James Spilsbury, late of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the County of Middlesex, haberdasher and warehouseman, being a bankrupt," complain of "Charlotte Hayes, being in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of our Lord the now King before the King himself," concerning the debt which she acknowledged at Westminster on August 1, 1776, "for the use and hire of certain Cloaths and Garments . . . let to hire to the said Charlotte at her special interest and request . . .

MAP of
EPSON RACE COURSE

1823



MAP OF EPSON RACE COURSE IN 1823

Showing the O'Kelly Stables (Clay Hill)

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and also for work and labour before that time done performed and bestowed . . . in making fitting adorning and trimming divers Cloaths Garments and Masquerade Dresses," and for other work at divers times beforehand; and whereas "the said Charlotte not regarding her said several promises and undertakings so made as aforesaid but contriving and fraudulently intending craftily and subtilly to deceive and defraud . . . hath not yet paid the said several sums of money or any part thereof . . ." the assignees of the haberdasher assess "their damage of fifty pounds and thereupon they bring their suit.

Michaelmas Term in the seventeenth year
of the reign of King George the Third."

We may take it, however, that this was an accidental and temporary aberration during Dennis's absence; for there is every trace of staid affection and of real regard on both sides even afterwards. That regard was shared, as I have said, by other members of the family besides Dennis, who makes it a very prominent feature of his will, and as there is not much more to say about Charlotte, I will insert here two letters which concern the annuity he left her. The first is from Messrs. Janson and Harpur, of Cannon Row, Westminster, Solicitors; the second from herself. They run as follows:

On Aug. 11, 1798, John Janson (Sol^r) writes from Westminster:

"I have been considering about the charge of £400 a year to Mrs. O'Kelly for her life & I think the best way will be to sell the first lot of Cannons subject to that charge, or otherwise that a sum should be laid out in the three per cents for securing the payment of it, but I rather think under all the circumstances you had better sell it subject to that charge as I understand she has very much incumbered it & may create some difficulties in the Title, and that there may be least said about it I think the best way would be to sell it so."

MRS. C. O'KELLY to COLONEL ANDREW O'KELLY,

"HALF MOON STREET, PICCADILLY, Feb. 1801.

"MY DEAR COLONEL

"I am very sorry to find that Mr. Brockbank makes any objection to my giving you the releace for my annuiteis and the acknowledgement of

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the other sums mentiond in it that you and your father have paid and secured to [be] paid for me but I am not surpris'd at any thing that such a man as Mr. Brockbank should say or do after the maner he has conducted himself towards me and you—unjust advantage he is attempting to take of you against my wishes or consent—if you or any other person has the smallest doubt of the justness of what is contained in the release I shall be ready at any time to com forward and make an affidavit of those circumstamces which Mr. Brockbank must be perfectly well acquainted with as I have at diferant times stated to him monies that you have paid for me and I have give him money to keep the transactions of my selling my annuities from your knowledg and am my Dear Colonel

“Yours Sincerely

“C : O'KELLY.”

Both these letters were written to Dennis's nephew, Andrew, and the second shows that Charlotte was not as well educated as was the owner of *Eclipse*. But she was evidently no less useful a helpmeet for all that, and one of her greatest distractions in the Half-Moon Street house was O'Kelly's celebrated parrot. This wonderful bird has been several times described by contemporary admirers.

“Its rare and astonishing faculties,” wrote one of them in 1788, “if it was not yet alive to prove their reality, would scarcely be believed even by the most credulous. It was hatched in Bristol, and is perhaps as singular in its nativity as in its other qualities. It cost the fond Count fifty guineas, besides the expenses of bringing to Town, and we believe ourselves warranted in declaring that it would at this period produce five times that sum. Mr. Locke, in his inimitable discourse upon innate ideas, gives an account of a Peruvian bird of this species, which he mentions as a wonderful instance of instinctive sagacity. It would, he says, not only repeat everything it was commanded, but it would answer many questions which appeared to require a higher degree of perception. He states a few instances, and then concludes, with proving that *all* was derived from example. But when we compare the qualities of the bird in question, to those mentioned by the Philosopher, we must, without the imputation of partiality, give it the preference. *It* not only repeats all things, but answers almost everything; and, so strong is its retention, that it sings a variety of tunes,

~~These~~ ^{the} circumstances which Mr. Brockley
must be perfectly well acquainted with
as I have at different times stated to him
monies that you have paid for me and I
have given him money to keep the transac-
tions of my selling my annuities from
your knowledge ^{and} my Dear Mother
Yours Sincerely —
L: O'Kelly

Febry. 10002.

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with exquisite melody ! it beats time with all the appearance of science, and, wonderful to relate, so accurate is its judgment, that if by chance (for it is merely so when it happens) it mistakes a note, it reverts to the bar where the mistake occurred, corrects itself, and, still beating regular time, goes through the whole with miraculous exactness. In addition to this we must add, that it sings whatever air is desired, and intimates an express knowledge of every request."

This parrot is mentioned in a note on O'Kelly's death in the "Obituary of Considerable Persons" published by the "Gentleman's Magazine" (vol. lvii., p. 1196-7), which adds that it was the only parrot ever born in England, and that it was left to "Mrs. O'Kelly" in his will. The "Dictionary of National Biography" adds the interesting information that it could whistle the 104th Psalm, which was possibly the only form of religious service appreciated by O'Kelly and his friends. One of the royal Dukes, at anyrate, must have been an embarrassing person in Church, as the following "conversation" shows :

CLERGYMAN. "Zacchaeus stood forth and said, 'Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor.'"

THE DUKE (who often thought aloud). "Too much, too much ; don't mind tithes, but can't stand that."

CLERGYMAN recites a commandment.

THE DUKE. "Quite right, quite right, but very difficult sometimes."

The death of the famous parrot is mentioned in a letter from Philip O'Kelly to Andrew Dennis O'Kelly, with W. Harvey, Esquire, 72 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

CANNONS, Oct. 7, 1802.

DEAR ANDREW,

I received your letter this day without date or where to direct to you but I take my chance &c. We are all hapy to [hear] of my poor Witt's speedy recovery and we are in hopes he will have no relaps and that you got safe to him. May God give you boath good helth &c. &c. but it tis an old remark that one truble does not come alone. Polley was taking ill on Saturday night last with a purging and Bloody Flox

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and all things that was fit for her was got. She died on Sunday morning. Dr. Kennedy got her to have her stuffd so she is no more. Charlett is in the same state as ever. I sent the List &c. All things here is well and goes on well but the Needfull is wanting. I expect to hear from you every day as you promised when you wrote last you would in a day or two &c.

Pray give my blessing, your mother's, and his mother's, to Whitt and God bless you boath and pray our blessing to Whitt's wife &c. I received two letters from Capⁿ Jones, one from Mr. Juler, and one from Whitt directed to you since you left this.

God may have you all in

His Holy Keeping,

Your Loving fater

P. O'KELLY.

About 1785 the heir, Andrew, returned from his "European education," and caused great dismay and distress to the tender-hearted Charlotte by an accident which occurred soon after he visited his father at Epsom. While galloping a fast thoroughbred over the exercise-ground he was thrown, and the animal broke its leg, but fortunately Andrew escaped with nothing worse than a bad shaking. Whether it was this nephew's return, or whether the removal of his beloved Charlotte to Piccadilly had determined O'Kelly to leave Epsom wholly in his brother Philip's hands, and find another country house, I do not know; but it must have been about this time that Dennis O'Kelly set his mind on the purchase of the Cannons estate at Stanmore Parva, or Whitchurch, near Edgware, which is within an hour's drive of Half Moon-Street and Piccadilly.

There are now electric cars on the road all the way past the Welsh Harp at Hendon, along the ancient highway which once was Watling Street, and still cuts straight as an arrow through green pastures to the old-fashioned High Street of Edgware. On the left, at the very end of this street, is the house of Mr. Tootell, magistrates' clerk of Edgware. A little farther on to the left are the lodge-

Dr. Andrews

Camons Oct. 7th 1802

Rec'd your letter this day without
date or where to Direct to you but I take my chance &
we are all hoping thro' of my poor Will's Speeder recovery and
we are in hopes he will have no relap' and that you
got safe to him, may God give you both good health
&c &c but it tis an old remark that one trouble does
not come alone Polly was taking ill on Saturday
Night last with a purging and bloody stool, and all
things that was fit for her was got, she Died on
Sunday morning, Dr Kennedy got her to have her
stuffed so she is no more, Charlett is in the same
State as when I sent the last &c — all things here is
well and goes on well but the seed hull is wanting
I expect to here from you every day as you promised
when you wrote less you would in a day or two &c

pray give my blessing your Mother & her M^r to
Whitt and God bless you both and pray our blessing
to Whitt's Wife &c Rec'd two letters from Cap'n Jones
one from Mr Suler and one from Whitt. Directed to
you since you left this, God may have you all in
His Holy Keeping
your Loving Father
P. O'Kelly

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gates of Cannons Park, which probably took its name, like Canonbury, in Islington, from the canons of St. Bartholomew's. Beyond them stretches the estate which was chosen by James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, for that famous mansion derided in Pope's verses, for which a mighty avenue was planned, beginning at the original lodge-gates now represented by two classical houses on the north side of Cavendish Square.

The Duke is an interesting character, with whom I must not linger. But one story of him is worth telling shortly, and in Mr. Loftie's "London Afternoons" you may read more. He was passing an inn in his postchaise when he saw one of the ostlers ill-treating a girl. She was pretty, and the Duke could "use his mauleys," in the slang of the day; so he jumped off the box, flung his reins to his grooms, polished off the rascally ostler in a couple of rounds, and drove away with the rescued damsel. He educated her and brought her up with every care and attention, until she married, in due time, a wealthy City merchant. Soon afterwards her husband died, and one can imagine that she was nothing loth to add a handsome fortune to a grateful heart when she married the Duke of Chandos himself, and completed a very pretty little "romance in high life," which may explain a good deal of the first house at Cannons Park. As Master of the Ordnance the Duke had amassed a large sum of money, and he spent it lavishly, levelling the ground, laying out huge gardens, and building a luxurious and most extensive mansion in the middle of them.

It sounds a little like Fouquet and Vaux-le-Vicomte; for it was all sold up, and bought from the trustees by Hallett, the grandfather of the man who sold it to O'Kelly. Great alterations followed, however, before the Duke's estate came to the owner of *Eclipse*. The mansion itself and most of its magnificent surroundings were pulled down in 1747, and the sale of the materials brought more than the original purchase-price. The staircase is now in Chesterfield House, Mayfair, where its magnificent iron and

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marble work was set up before 1749, with the crowned "Cs" that so excellently suited their new master; and the avenue lodges, on the Edgeware road, were turned into two comfortable houses by the astute Hallett, one of them being almost immediately occupied by Sir David Lindsay.

But the parish church of Whitchurch remains as a memorial of "James Brydges" long after his huge palace has disappeared. Within it you may still see the monument set up after his death in 1744 to himself and his two wives, Mary, the daughter of Thomas Lake, of Cannons, and Lydia Catherine, the heroine of Mr. Loftie's story, who was daughter of John Vanhatten and widow of Thomas Darall, M.P. Here, too, are the frescoes by Verrio, Laguerre and Belluchi, with which the Duke of Chandos decorated the church he practically rebuilt in 1715; and behind four beautifully carved oak columns, which strongly recall the work of Grinling Gibbons in the chapel of the Chelsea Pensioners, is the organ upon which Handel played from 1718 to 1721, and composed his oratorio of "Esther." It was originally built by Gerard Schmidt, nephew of Father Schmidt, who died in 1708, and though it has been restored in 1877, and had a new keyboard in 1818, there is no reason to doubt that the case and a large part of the interior are original. Here Handel composed, besides "Esther," the "Chandos Te Deums" and Anthems; and in 1721 he gave the first performance of "Acis and Galatea" at Cannons. In 1790 Dennis O'Kelly's nephew revived the traditions of the place by giving a sacred concert, in which Signora Storace and Mrs. Crouch sang; and in the churchyard is a tombstone erected to William Powell, Parish Clerk, who was the "Harmonious Blacksmith." Apart from this, the oldest relics of the place are the Gothic mantelpieces preserved in the "Chandos Arms," the public-house on the left side of Edgeware High Street as you drive in from London.

The park itself is very much changed from what it was when O'Kelly bought it, owing to the many new buildings which have been put up of late. O'Kelly's house, however, still stands; a more modest but a much more comfortable

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place than the ducal mansion it replaced, with considerable pretensions to well-proportioned dignity and strength. Beneath the bow windows of the saloon part of *Eclipse's* body was buried after his master had been laid to rest in the church rebuilt by the Duke of Chandos. In the house Mr. Ducros now resides, and I have been permitted to take a photograph of the front door through which O'Kelly so often passed ; but the much older lithographic sketch of the house and the famous window was most kindly given me by Mrs. Haig Brown, widow of the late Master of the Charterhouse, who was visiting one of the lodges in the park when Lady Plumer lived in the big house. That was sixty years ago, and the memories of *Eclipse* were greener than they are now, but the paintings of O'Kelly's stud, done for him by Stubbs, had already been scattered to Ireland, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, and I have had some difficulty in finding the best of them for reproduction in these pages.

In 1786 Colonel O'Kelly offered £10,500 for the mansion and its immediate surroundings ; but Mr. William Hallett, grandson of the man who bought the Duke's estate and built the present house, wrote that this was not enough, and no doubt the price went up. In any case the negotiations were concluded entirely to Mr. Hallett's satisfaction, for on April 25, 1787, he writes : " I cannot but trouble you with a letter to thank you for the polite manner in which you have acted." Here is the front page of the catalogue of sale, of which the details will be found in the Appendix. Evidently it was not all sold outright in November, 1785, and O'Kelly's offer for the house in 1786 was a result of that.

THE PARTICULARS

OF THE CAPITAL AND MUCH-DISTINGUISHED FREEHOLD ESTATE, CALLED CANNONS, DELIGHTFULLY SITUATE AT STANMORE, in the County of Middlesex, Nine Miles from London, Formerly the Seat of THE DUKE OF CHANDOIS, and late the property of WILLIAM HALLET, Esq. (deceased ;) Comprising Five

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Hundred and Forty-seven Acres, one Rood, and thirty-one Perch, of remarkable rich Meadow, Arable and Wood Land. One Hundred and Twelve Acres of which is a fine fertile Paddock, refreshed by two noble Sheets of Water, surrounded by a capital Brick Wall ; A neat, magnificent PORTLAND STONE DWELLING-HOUSE, With suitable Offices, Pleasure-Grounds, and Gardens ; Placed on an elevated Spot, commanding beautiful Prospects of the circumjacent Country ; The Farms are very compact, and lett to unexceptionable good Tenants ; The whole Annual Value (exclusive of House and Offices) Nine Hundred and Fifty-four Pounds, fifteen Shillings ; Also Sixty-three Acres, two Rood, and thirty-three Perch, of Copyhold Land, A genteel Dwelling-House, Offices, Two Messuages, three Tenements, and Out-Buildings, Situated between the Seven and Eight Mile Stone from LONDON ; in EDGWARE Town ; at BROCKLEY-HILL ; and in the Town of STANMORE ; Let at One Hundred and Seventy-two Pounds, eight Shillings, per Ann. Which will be SOLD by AUCTION, by MR. SKINNER and Co. On WEDNESDAY the 16th of November, 1785, at Twelve o'Clock, at Garraway's Coffee House, 'Change-Alley, London, in Eight Lots.

To be viewed by Tickets, which may be had, with printed Particulars, of Mr. Skinner and Co. Aldersgate-Street ; where a Plan may be seen of each Lot : Particulars may be also had of Mr. Partyn, of Edgware.

It has sometimes been thought that O'Kelly outlived *Eclipse*, but this is not so. The idea may have arisen from an entry in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (vol. lx. p. 658), which records that "Dennis O'Kelly, Counsellor-at-Law, was shot on July 14, 1790, in the Quarry field near Dublin by Captain Whalley in a duel." It would be interesting if the Irish adventurer had indeed fallen by the hand of "Jerusalem Whaley ;" but the one name is as misleading as the other ; no one has ever accused "*Eclipse*" O'Kelly of having been a "counsellor-at-law," though curiously enough it seems to be established that he did fight a duel with one of his compatriots on a question which would nowadays have been settled in the law courts. But, as a matter of fact, O'Kelly's romance was drawing very near its close when Cannons had been purchased. He died of gout on



CANNONS

The residence of Colonel O'Kelly, near Edgworth, from the lithograph in the possession of Mrs. Harriet Brown

DENNIS O'KELLY

December 28, 1787, in his house in Piccadilly, whither he had evidently gone to be near Charlotte at the end.

The contemporary press took note of his decease in the following handsome manner :

“The late Col^l O’Kelly whose death has been the Subject of much animadversion as well in Conversation as in the Daily Papers, has, we are informed, left behind him what will be worthy the particular Animadversion of those to whom it Devolves Property to a very large Amount. As he was advancing in years he had for a long time previous to his decease declared a resolution of quitting the Turf whenever he could so far disengage himself from it as to be able to quit it with the same Honor he had conducted himself whilst belonging to it. By his Will he has given ample Proof that such was his Intent, for he has restricted his Family from having any Concern with Horse racing upon pain of forfeiting considerable parts of the Property he has bequeathed them.

“We are happy in being enabled from the best Authority to give the Public the substance of his Will which is as follows :

“After making a Handsome Provision by Annuity charged on his real Estates for Mrs. O’Kelly, together with the use for life of that Elegant Villa Cannons which he lately purchased from W. Hallett Esquire and the Furniture, he has devised the Bulk of his Property to Andrew Dennis O’Kelly Esquire, his Nephew, a Gentleman whom we are informed well merits this and every other good Fortune which can befall him, and whose Conduct through Life has been so well regulated as to render the restriction in his Uncle’s Will wholly unnecessary though its insertion may be accounted for by that Caution which is the usual Attendant on Experience.”

By the kindness of a collateral descendant, I am fortunately able to give here a careful and accurate analysis of Dennis O’Kelly’s Will, of which the original parchment administration has been shown me by Sir Thomas Esmonde. It contains the following bequests, and is dated October 11, 1786 :

(1) Thomas Birch of Bond Street, and William Atkinson of Pall Mall, are named as executors, and Andrew Dennis, his nephew, is made sole administrator by an appended authority from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) An annuity or yearly rentcharge of four hundred

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pounds from "my capital messuage lands, grounds and hereditaments situate at Cannons in the County of Middlesex which I have lately purchased of William Hallett Esquire . . . and every part and parcel thereof . . . which I do hereby charge with the same upon trust that they do and shall yearly and every year receive and pay the said yearly rentcharge or sum of four hundred pounds into the proper hands of Charlotte Hayes, called Mrs. O'Kelly who now lives and resides with me for and during the term of her natural life without any deduction or abatement whatsoever on the four quarterdays" and the said Charlotte Hayes was to live in Cannons if she wished and to use all the furniture in it at the time of his death for the term of her own life.

(3) After her death all the furniture and effects go to his nephew Andrew Dennis O'Kelly who inherits the freehold of Cannons on the death of Dennis.

(4) He bequeaths to Charlotte Hayes "my large diamond ring and also all and every the diamonds jewels watches rings and other personal ornaments which she is possessed of at my decease . . . also my gold gilt and silver cups my silver tea-urn tea-kettle coffee-pot and all other plate or plated silver whatsoever being tea-equipage or property belonging to her tea-table and used in that way with two pair of any large silver candlesticks at her election.

(5) £1000 to his niece Mary Harvey.

6. "I do hereby give my horse called *Eclipse* unto the said Thomas Birch and William Atkinson upon trust to receive the profits arising from the said horse as a Stallion and to account for and pay the same unto the said Charlotte Hayes my said Nephew Andrew Dennis O'Kelly and my brother Philip O'Kelly in and by equal parts and shares during their joint lives and to the survivors and survivor of them so long as the said horse shall live and be of any use or benefit after deducing all charges and expenses of taking care of the said horse. And if my three horses *Daugannon Volunteer* and *Vertumnus* shall become stallions or if any of any other horses shall be kept as stallions at the time of my decease . . ." the fees shall be divided in exactly similar manner, and if it is not desired to keep them as stallions then they are to be sold at



ECLIPSE AT THE STUD
From a print after the painting by Garrard

DENNIS O'KELLY

public auction and the proceeds divided. . . . "and I do hereby direct that all my stud of running horses which I shall have or be possessed of at the time of my decease save and except *Eclipse Dungannon Volunteer* and *Vertumnus* or such horses as shall be kept as stallions at the time of my decease and also except all my brood mares hereinafter given to my said brother Philip O'Kelly shall as soon as convenient be sold and disposed of by my Executors by public sale for the best prices or most monies which can then be had or obtained for the same and that the net monies arising from the sale thereof shall be applied by my said Trustees and Executors in the first place in and towards payment and satisfaction of my just debts I do hereby also give and bequeath unto my brother Philip O'Kelly all my brood mares whatsoever and wheresoever for his own use and benefit." . . . and ten of his mares to be covered by my stallions without fee, but after ten the same fees as anyone else.

7. I also bequeath to Charlotte Hayes both my chariot and coach and all such coach or carriage horses as I shall be possessed of at the time of my decease with all the harness equipage and furniture thereto belonging.

8. £20 and a mourning ring to each of his executors.

9. "All the residue and remainder of my personal estate not hereinbefore specifically devised I do hereby give and bequeath unto Charlotte Hayes, my brother Philip O'Kelly and my nephew Andrew Dennis O'Kelly in equal parts shares and proportions for their respective use and benefit provided always and I do hereby expressly declare it to be my will and direct that if my brother Philip O'Kelly and my nephew Andrew Dennis O'Kelly or either of them shall at any time or times after my decease during their joint lives lay any bet or wager or make any match or matches whatsoever for running any horse or mare whatsoever or train up any horses or mares whatsoever for running at any race or races or upon any course public or private for themselves or on their own account or if they or either of them shall anyways interfere or be engaged or concerned in any such matters in any shape or manner or upon any account or pretence whatsoever then and in such cases or any of them they shall forfeit and pay unto my executors and trustees the sum of five hundred pounds of lawful British money to be by them deducted and retained for their own use and benefit out of the property."

Only a few notes are necessary on the foregoing document. The William Atkinson in paragraph (1) became a

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great friend of Andrew, and his brother Michael seems to have held a mortgage on Cannons. The mourning ring mentioned in paragraph (8) is, I believe, the origin of Lochee's miniature which forms my frontispiece.

On January 7, 1788, Colonel Dennis O'Kelly was buried at Whitchurch. Whatever evil he may have done lies with his bones interred. The Jockey Club would not forgive it; but few of them had the right to cast a stone. The good lives after him. To his ownership and careful treatment of *Eclipse* England owes nearly all her best horses since the end of the eighteenth century; and the old quatrain that racing men would be most inclined to quote about him is:

There is so much good in the worst of us,
And so much bad in the best of us,
That it ill beseems any one of us
To find any fault with the rest of us.

So we will wish peace to O'Kelly's ashes; and may the turf rest lightly on the dead.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEATH OF *ECLIPSE* AND THE PROPORTIONS OF HIS SKELETON

Pelle et cārnibus vestisti me, ossibus et nervis compegisti me

Saint Bel's Presence at the Horse's Death—"Cakes and Ale"—A Funeral Ode—The *Eclipse* Hoof—The other Three Hoofs—The Whip—*Eclipse's* Skin—His Skeleton in Red Lion Square—Bracy Clark—Sale of the Bones to Professor Gamgee—Gift to the Museum—Charles Vial de Saint Bel—The First Veterinary College—Saint Bel's Examination of *Eclipse's* Bones—The Difficulties of Exact Measurement—Proportions of *Eclipse*—Various Details of his Framework and Anatomy—Extent of his Stride—Sir John Hills on the Points of a Racehorse—Heights of Racehorses—Comparison of *Ormonde*, *St. Simon*, and *Eclipse*—Comparison of *Zinfandel* and *Sampson*—Horses steadily Growing Taller—Value of a Long *Femur* and *Humerus*—*Persimmon* a Direct Descendant of *Eclipse*.

E*CLIPSE* stood most of his life as a stallion at Clay Hill, Epsom. Towards the end his forefeet were dropped in the hoofs and foundered, and his coffin-bones (wrote Bracy Clark in 1835) were "very much rounded and diminished by absorption from undue pressure upon the ball." He had earned his rest, for in twenty-three years his produce numbered 344 winners, with upwards of £158,000 in stakes, and he had earned O'Kelly the round sum of £25,000. He was conveyed from Epsom to Cannons Park on the first van ever used to transport a horse from one place to another, for when Lord George Bentinck vanned *Elis* to Doncaster for the St. Leger, it was only the first time such a method had been used for a race-meeting. John Oakley travelled with *Eclipse*, says

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Clark, "and baited with him at the stopping places on the road, so that, in the words of the poet, he had almost become 'demi-natured with the brave beast.'"

On the morning of February 25, 1789, *Eclipse* was seized with a violent colic, writes St. Bel. "The remedies acknowledged as most proper in that case were administered, but without effect. He expired on the 27th at seven o'clock in the evening in the 26th year of his age. . . . It is worthy notice that the heart weighed fourteen pounds. The skull was not opened as it was my intention to preserve entire the skeleton of so famous a horse."

"Cakes and ale," says Bracy Clark, "were given at the funeral of his flesh, after the manner of the *Godolphin Arabian*, for his skin was preserved, and his bones were nicely cleaned of every covering but the ligaments that held them together, by the masterly hand of Sainbel, the first professor of the Veterinary College, and an excellent anatomist, at which, more than in anything else, he excelled." Orton confirms this in his "Turf Annals," (1844), saying that, "the skeleton, which exhibited immense strength and power, was afterwards for many years preserved in the museum of Mr. Edmund Bond" (the gentleman whose notes on Tattersall's Catalogue appeared in my last chapter) "of Haunch of Venison Yard, Upper Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London, a pupil of M. de St. Bel, member of the R.V.C., and Veterinarian to the Duke of Clarence. In later days one of the hoofs of this Prince of Horses, elegantly and expensively mounted" (as will be seen in one of my illustrations) "was presented to the Jockey Club by His late Majesty. . . ."

Soon after the good horse's death, a poem was published in which the adherents of O'Kelly and *Eclipse* flung a last defiance at Tattersall and *Highflyer*. It ran as follows :

Praise to departed worth! Illustrious steed,
Not the fam'd Phernicus of Pindar's ode,
O'er thee, Eclipse, possessed transcendent speed
When by a keen Newmarket jockey rode.



THE ECLIPSE CUP

From a photograph taken by permission of the Jockey Club

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

Tho' from the hoof of Pegasus arose
Inspiring Hippocrene, a fount divine !
A richer stream superior merit shows,
Thy matchless foot produced O'Kelly's wine.

True, o'er the tomb in which this fav'rite lies
No vaunting boast appears of lineage good ;
Yet the Turf Register's bright page defies
The race of Herod to show better blood.

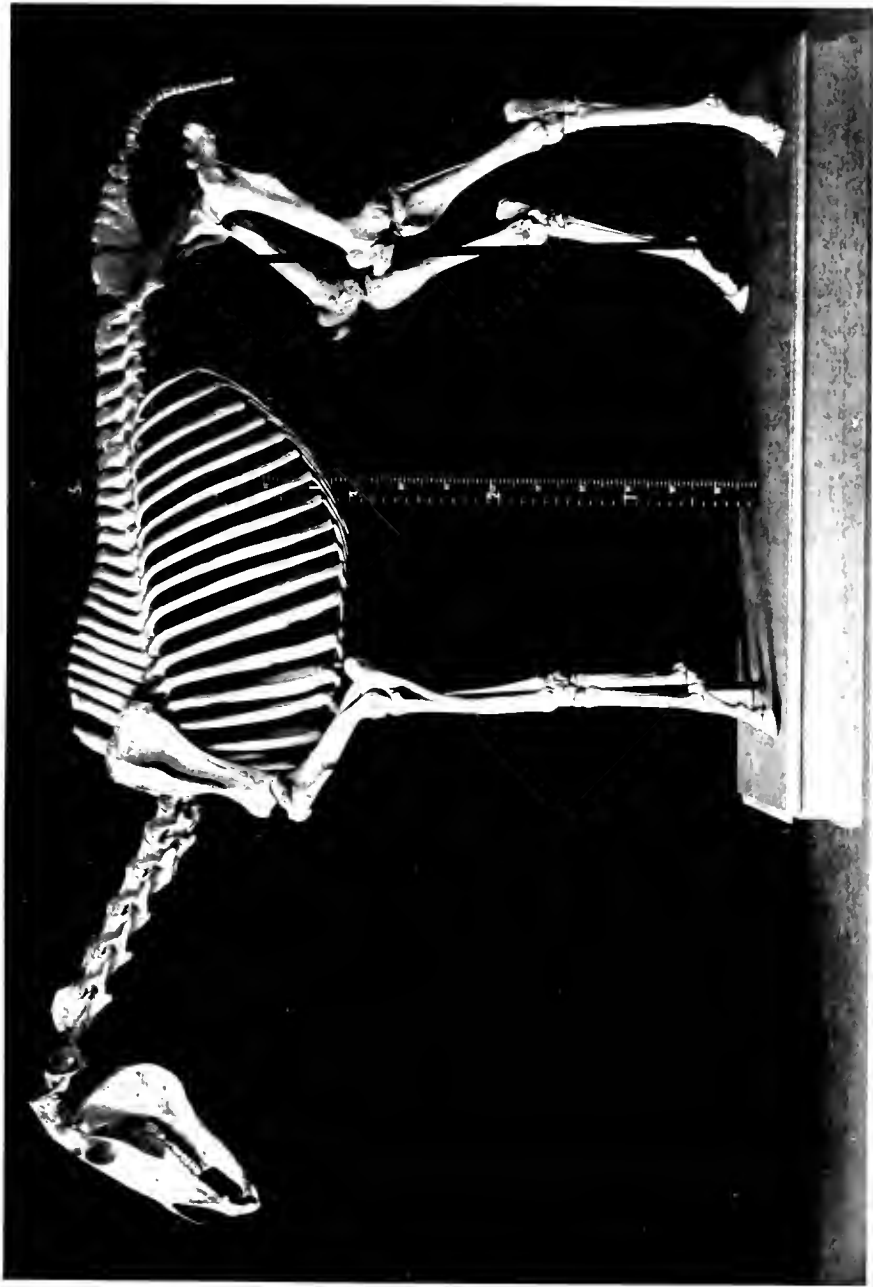
Every precaution was taken, as far as I can discover, to preserve the relics of this noble animal; but of course I have had some difficulty in arriving at the authenticity of all that bear his name to-day. The hoof, however, mentioned by Orton in the passage quoted above, is beyond doubt; for it is on record that King William IV., who knew more of the sea than the Turf, and "started the whole squadron" when necessary at Ascot or elsewhere, was giving the annual dinner to the Jockey Club (which still continues) at St. James's Palace, on May 16, 1832, when the hoof of *Eclipse*, elegantly mounted in the middle of a gold salver, was brought into the room and presented by the King to the Club. It is now in the Club Rooms at Newmarket. On the front are the royal arms in gold in high relief, and on the pedestal is the following inscription: "This piece of plate, with the hoof of Eclipse, was presented by His Most Gracious Majesty William the Fourth to the Jockey Club, May, 1832." This Hoof was originally given as a Challenge race (rather like "The Whip," which I shall mention presently) run on Ascot Thursday. The King gave £200 added money, and there was a £100 sweepstake between members of the Jockey Club. It was run for soon after it was presented, in the year of the great Reform Bill, on the same afternoon that *Camarine* and *Rowton* ran a dead-heat for the Gold Cup, and over the same course. One subscriber scratched, and of the other two, Lord Chesterfield, with the famous *Priam* (Conolly up), beat General Grosvenor and *Sarpedon*, ridden by John Day. In 1834 Lord Chesterfield won again with *Glaucus*

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(Bill Scott up), beating *Gallopade*, who had won for Mr. Cosby the year before. Twelve months later it was challenged for by Mr. Batson, but there was no reply. It is much to be wished that his present Majesty would suggest some practical way by which so celebrated a trophy could once more be brought out from its seclusion and worthily figure among the great prizes of the modern Turf.

A short time ago the number of "hoofs of *Eclipse*" mentioned in my letters suggested that one explanation of his speed might have been the abnormal quantity of legs in which he apparently rejoiced. But after some trouble I have got down to four, two of which are probable and two certain. Among the many correspondents who have so kindly given value to this compilation was Mr. John D. Cradock, of Quorn, who possesses a hoof with a piece of the hide of *Eclipse*, which were given to his father, Thomas Cradock, of Loughborough, by Thomas Denning, of the same place, who got it from Cannons. Mr. Denning died on December 30, 1846, and in the probate of his will in the Canterbury Court (proved in 1847) he is described as "of Loughborough," where he owned property; and he formerly resided at Pinner. From other indications I see no reason to doubt that this is genuine.

Soon afterwards another letter reached me from the West Indies, in which Mrs. E. J. Roper very kindly informed me that she possessed a hoof of *Eclipse* mounted in the form of a snuff-box, with the miniature of George IV. on the lid. This could not, of course, have been the one which Lord Chesterfield won in 1834, for that, as we have seen, is now in the Jockey Club; but it may possibly have been given to the Prince of Wales by his friend, Andrew O'Kelly, in the shape it still retains. How it got out to the West Indies is evident from the inscription now on the underside of the lid, which shows that it was given to the father of my correspondent's husband, who was a surgeon in the 101st Regiment, then stationed at Jamaica. The inscription is as follows: "Presented to Dr. Roper, Rosemount, Jamaica, by Lieutenant Nowlan, as a testimonial of



THE SKELETON OF REUSE

Photograph of W. J. Gray from the engraving by the possession of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, Red Lion Square, London.

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

gratitude for his skilful and successful treatment of a gunshot wound, which carried with it a portion of the spine, rendering it to all except his benefactor a hopeless case; and having perfectly recovered from all subsequent ill effects Lieutenant Nowlan is anxious to record his grateful feelings. Dublin, June 1837." The weakness of this is that there is no mention of *Eclipse*, the very point that would have given special value to the present. But I am bound to think that "Dublin" adds a touch of probability, inasmuch as the hoof may well have been a treasured possession of Andrew O'Kelly's Irish relations, as a relic not only of the famous horse, but of his racing acquaintance with the Prince of Wales. I must confess, however, that no greater proof of authenticity has yet reached me.

Fortunately, there is as little doubt about the fourth hoof as about the first, for in reply to my inquiries, Lord Knollys very kindly wrote as follows:—

BALMORAL CASTLE

26 September 1906

DEAR MR. COOK

I have submitted your letter to the King, and I find that His Majesty does possess one of *Eclipse's* hoofs.

Yours very truly,

KNOLLYS.

I should add here that in Mr. Robert Black's "History of the Jockey Club" (1891) mention is made of a Mr. William Worley, of Weybridge, who "claims to have had in his possession for about thirty years (on July 7, 1891) a pin with a horse's head made from one of *Eclipse's* hoofs, and the property originally of a William Worley who had been in the service of the 'Culloden' Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards manager of the Duke of York's stud at Oatlands, and who had actually cut off the hoofs of *Eclipse*." I find from other sources that Mr. Worley, who had ridden *Eclipse* at exercise, died at a great age at his residence in Hampton Court; and it is further said that the hoof he sent (by O'Kelly's orders) to the Duke of York was that which

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eventually came into the possession of the Jockey Club by the gift of William IV. It is also said that Mr. Worley sent another hoof (which has never been traced) to Mr. Greville who managed the Duke of York's racing stable. From which foot was taken the material used for Mr. Worley's tie-pin, I know not. The fact that the hoofs mentioned above are mounted may conceal the absence of a piece of horn big enough for the head of a scarf-pin; and it is curious that in the skeleton as it is now mounted in Red Lion Square the fore and hind hoof-bones appear to be interchanged, which may be the result of a stud-groom, ignorant of anatomy, removing one hoof during the dissection in order to cut out a piece of horn.

A genuine relic of *Eclipse* is the lash and wristband, woven from the hairs of his mane and tail, on the Newmarket Challenge Whip, which was very possibly decorated in this appropriate manner after *Eclipse's* sons, *Pot8os* and *Dungannon*, had won it in 1783 and 1786 respectively. The trophy is of course much older, for though the arms on the handle are not Stuart, the tradition that it was given as a prize by Charles II. is probably true. George IV. gave a gold whip in the year of his accession to the Turf Club in Ireland, and in 1828 Richard Tattersall carried over to the Mecklenburgh Race-meeting a whip presented by Francis Buckle, with which he had won "five Derbies, two St. Legers, nine Oaks, and all the good things at Newmarket." The selection of a well-mounted whip as a prize is of old standing, and was usual about the time when the still more ancient custom of giving a Bell went out of fashion. Such good horses are on the roll of the Newmarket Whip winners as *Sharke*, *Sweet William*, *Gimcrack*, and *Malton*; but it has fallen into almost as indolent habits as its near neighbour the Hoof, for in these days few owners care to give their horses a gallop over the severe *Ditch-In* course (two miles 118 yards) for a reward that is merely sentimental; and after old *Osbeck* had practically made it his own property, Lord Ellesmere's *Kroonstad* (by *Kilwarlin*, out of *Sabra*) won it in October, 1906, without the trouble of

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

competition, which showed that sentiment does not count for very much on the modern Turf.

Matthew Dawson owned a genuine piece of *Eclipse's* skin, and on his death in 1898 this was sent by his heir to Lord Rosebery, who gave it an honoured place in one of the finest sporting collections in the world at the Durdans. The fine, light chestnut hair is as bright as ever in the Epsom sunlight, and beneath it is a letter signed by R. B. Pitman in July 1865, saying that it is "part of a larger piece given to me by Lieut.-Colonel Andrew Dennis O'Kelly," the owner of Cannons Park at the time of *Eclipse's* death there in 1789.

It has been said that the stuffed skin was standing in the loft over the stables at Cannons until 1810; and Mr. Aubrey Hillmann of Saxonbury has written to me as follows:— "The late Rev. C. J. Plumer, Vicar of Ilford, near Lewes in Sussex, from 1868 to 1882, and before that of Elstree, Middlesex, was the son of Sir Thomas Plumer, Master of the Rolls, who bought the Cannons Estate from O'Kelly. He often told me that, as a boy, he and his brother had played with the skin of *Eclipse* either in the loft over the stables or in one of the attics at Cannons, where it was left by Sir Thomas Plumer." But Mr. W. Osborn Boyes of Barnet, writing to the papers in July 1906, says that the father of Mr. W. A. Tootell, magistrates' clerk of Edgeware, "got to know they had sold the hide to a 'snob' at Elstree, to whom he posted off, gave the man a couple of sovereigns for it and brought it home, and for years it has lain in the loft over Mr. Tootell's stables," which are only a stone's throw from the gates of Cannons Park. The famous skin was "in pickle" at the tanner's when I was last in Edgeware in November, 1906; but in the spring of the next year Mr. Osborn Boyes very kindly sent me a piece which he had himself cut off near the withers, and I have no reason to doubt its authenticity; but no hair is left on it, and it has not been so well preserved as the portion that has come into the possession of Lord Rosebery. The careful reader will observe that the account thus given by

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Mr. Boyes does not invalidate the evidence which Mr. Hillman was good enough to send me early in 1906.

Most fortunately for us the dissection of *Eclipse's* dead body was conducted by the most famous veterinary surgeon of his day, and the first head of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in Red Lion Square. He left the ligaments on the bones, after he had taken off everything else, and they were still on them a year or two ago, as may be seen from the photograph on page 302 of the second volume in my "History of the English Turf" (Virtue, 1903). This is only one indication of the authenticity of that skeleton, which has now had to be cleaned up owing to the natural processes of decay. But it is necessary to give here the documentary proofs that this skeleton is actually the authentic relic out of several other claimants to the honour; and this I am enabled to do owing to the kindness of various correspondents related to the gentlemen through whose hands the skeleton of *Eclipse* passed before it reached its present home.

It may be as well briefly to trace the occurrences connected with the skeleton from the day after Saint Bel dissected it at Cannons. "*Eclipse's* head," he writes, "was never beautiful, but his mechanical conformation was perfect," and this he worked out in careful detail in a book from which I shall quote at some length later on, called "An Essay on the Geometrical Proportions of *Eclipse*, by Charles Vial de Saint Bel, Equerry to the King of France, and head of the Academy of Equitation at Lyons, formerly Professor of the Royal Veterinary College in the same city, and of Comparative Anatomy at Montpellier, and now Professor of the Veterinary College in London, 1791. Price one guinea." The book was originally written in French, from which I have taken its title, and was dedicated "to His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales."

The bones on which St. Bel's researches are based were presented to the Royal Veterinary College in Red Lion Square, London, where they now are, by Professor John

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Gamgee, on January 27, 1871, who sent the following receipt as a guarantee of authenticity :

“ 18 GILTSPUR STREET, LONDON.

“ Nov. 22, 1860.

“Received of Mr. Joseph Gamgee on account of Professor John Gamgee of the New Veterinary College, Edinburgh, the sum of one hundred and five pounds for value of the skeleton complete of the renowned horse *Eclipse*, son of *Marske* (Signed) BRACY CLARK.”

This Mr. Bracy Clark was a Fellow of the Linnæan Society, a Member of the Institut de France, and a friend of Saint Bel. He was born on April 7, 1771, eighteen years before *Eclipse* died; his elder brother, Henry, who was born in 1757, and died in 1841, was present at the dissection of the body in Cannons Park; and Saint Bel communicated to him a note on the arrangement of the bones. This elder brother it was who turned Bracy Clark's mind chiefly towards veterinary science, though his general attainments were sufficient to secure his recognition by various eminent scientific bodies, not only in Paris but in New York, Berlin, Copenhagen and Stuttgart. He was a man of wide interests, for he established the first cricket club in Worcester, during his apprenticeship as a surgeon, and his fine cabinet of insects, all named after the system of Linnæus, procured him the honour of membership of the Linnæan Society as soon as he reached London at the age of twenty-one. When he was twenty-six he visited Holland, Denmark, Germany and Switzerland, but could not get to France in 1797, so he returned to his veterinary practice in London with Mr. Bond and Mr. Moorcroft (who succeeded Saint Bel as joint-professor with Mr. Coleman at the Red Lion Square College), and in 1804 he was at work on the principle of elasticity in a horse's foot, of which Wyatt, the sculptor, was so convinced that he rode his horse without shoes for years, and to the end of his life Bracy Clark struggled to find a proper shoe to suit the natural expansion of the equine foot. At his death he was

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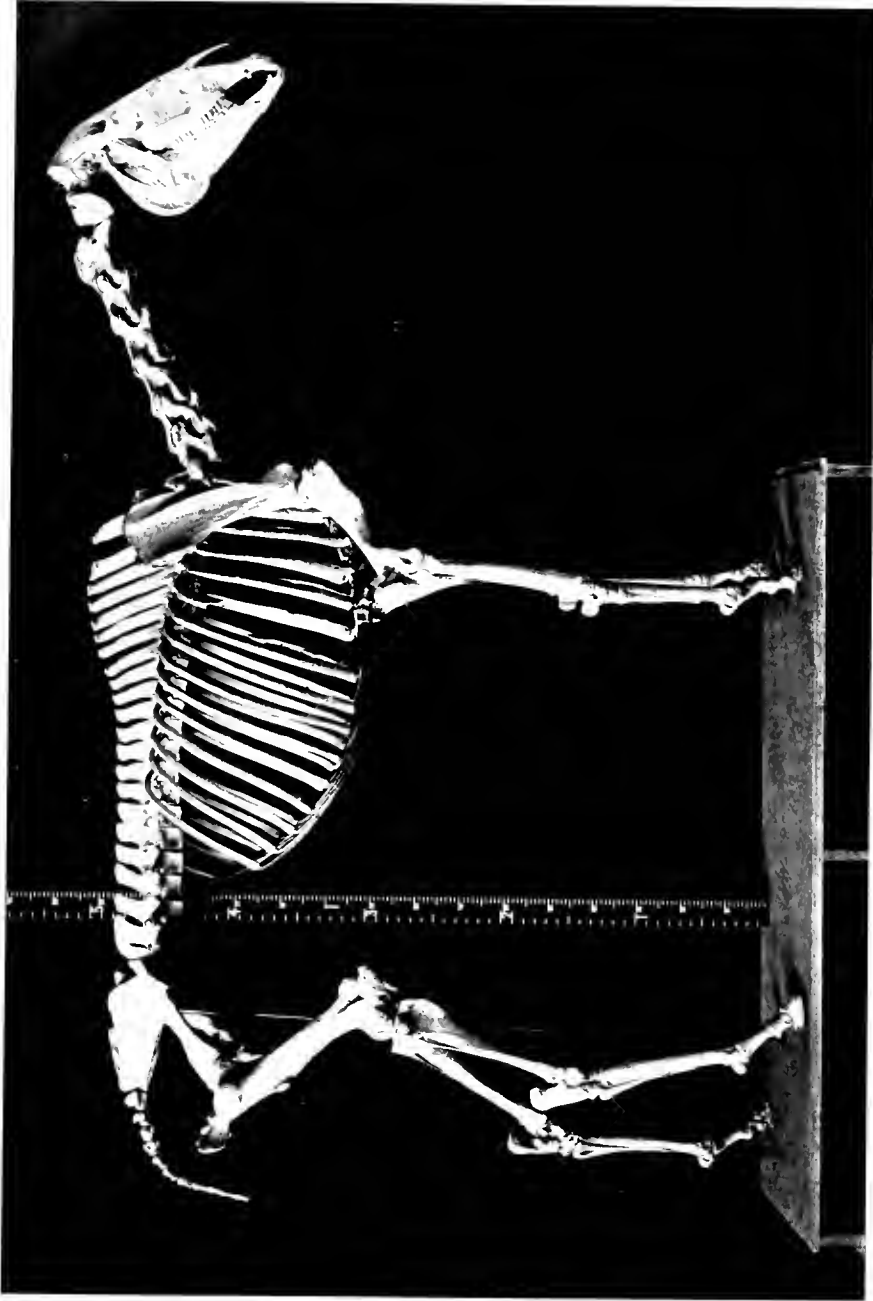
the senior member of his profession, his diploma being dated July 5, 1794, and it was his boast that he was the first pupil to lead a horse into the yard of the London College. He no doubt derived great benefit from St. Bel's instruction, and the first thing he ever published was a short description of *Eclipse*. The same subjects occupied him when he was forty-two, for he wrote a book on the sectional figure of the horse, which came out first in 1813 and again in 1842, in which the following passage occurs :

“As a very ungenerous and ridiculous attempt has lately been made to cast a doubt on the identity of the *Eclipse* skeleton now in my possession, it may not be amiss to notify that this celebrated horse never went out of Dennis O'Kelly's hands, dying at his estate of Cannons Park in Hertfordshire [he means Middlesex] of the gripes. St. Bel, then about to be made professor of the Veterinary College, made a natural skeleton of his bones, leaving the ligaments attaching the bones together, so that they could not in any way be changed. A few years after, Dennis [he means Andrew Dennis, the nephew] gave this skeleton to my friend Edmund Bond of Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, who dying, his widow, who still lives, presented it to me in consequence of my assistance in disposing of her business and collecting her debts, &c. ; and it was never in any other hands whatsoever. The bones also themselves, which are remarkable, would sufficiently evince their genuineness to any person not wilfully blind or prejudiced. Sixty guineas were offered me for it by the College of Surgeons and were refused, a hundred being demanded for this invincible monarch of the racecourse.”

A drawing from nature is added, by Sydenham Edwards of Chelsea, of the vertebral column, eighteen ribs, and trunk of *Eclipse*, and on the next page is a measured leg and the front of the skeleton.

This is confirmed from other sources, for Bracy Clark's great-grandson, Mr. Arthur Langridge, very kindly wrote out for me the following memorandum, copied from his grandmother's statement of the facts, made a year before her death in 1903. She was born in 1811.

“My father Mr. Bracy Clark had lent £500 to Mr. Bond, a veterinary surgeon of Oxford Street, who was called in by the owner Captain



THE SKELETON OF ECLIPSE

Photographed by W. E. Gray from the original to the possession of the Royal College of Physicians, Surgeons, Red Lion Square, London



ELIPSE

From the sketch in oils made from life by George Stables, A.R.S., in the possession of Sir Walter Gilbey, Bart., of Elsternham

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

[Andrew] O'Kelly living at Cannons, to dissect Eclipse under the direction of Sainbel and my uncle Henry Clark was present at the dissection. Shortly, after, Mr. Bond died, and his widow, unable to pay the loan, gave my father the skeleton of *Eclipse*. The first time I saw it was in Taunton Place, Regent's Park in 1825. The limbs were kept in two cupboards in my father's study, and the skeleton of the body was over the top, also the head. In 1860 my father sold it for £100 to Mr. John Gamgee who intended establishing a veterinary college in Edinburgh."

In 1833 the bones are also proved to have been in the same hands, for on August 9 of that year Mr. William Clift wrote to Mr. Bracy Clark from Lincoln's Inn Fields as follows :

"Dr. Adam of Edinburgh having been informed by me that you are in possession of the Bones of the celebrated Eclipse, is very desirous of being permitted to see them, and being personally unknown to you, has requested this line of introduction, and I believe you will only require to know, to esteem each other, for Dr. Adam is as zealous a student of Nature as yourself, and that you will allow is saying a bold word and more than I could venture to say of many others."

In 1835 Mr. Bracy Clark apparently gave the bones to Mr. Bullock to take care of, who kept them in a case in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, with power to sell them for 100 guineas.

Mr. Langridge also copied for me the original letter from Professor Gamgee as to the delivery of the skeleton, dated from the New Veterinary College, Edinburgh, November 21, 1860, and addressed to Bracy Clark, in Giltspur Street :

"My father will hand you this note and is deputed by me to pay you the sum of one hundred guineas for the skeleton of *Eclipse* which I wish you to deliver to him with an authentic account of the manner in which you obtained possession of it. In the hope that you may have recovered from the indisposition which Mrs. Pope mentioned as confining you to your room, I remain, Dear Sir, Yours very faithfully,

"JOHN GAMGEE."

Bracy Clark died three weeks later, leaving many valuable books on the horse to the Red Lion Square institution,

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and Mrs. Pope was his only child, Mr. Langridge's grandmother. He practised with Mr. Moorcroft and Mr. Bond; in his early days of veterinary work he took the premises mentioned in Giltspur Street. On December 16, 1860, he died at the age of 89, and the Registrar, announcing his death at the Quarterly Meeting of the Council of the Royal Veterinary Surgeons on January 16, 1861, said "Mr. Bracy Clark was until very recently the owner of the skeleton of the celebrated *Eclipse*."

In the "Edinburgh Veterinary Review" for February 1861, Mr. Joseph Gamgee wrote that "the skeleton of *Eclipse* now in our possession, still connected by its ligaments, is proof that *Eclipse* was a horse of most perfect symmetry." There is no doubt, therefore, that the Gamgees (both Joseph and John held important posts in the Edinburgh New Veterinary College) had the skeleton in Edinburgh between 1861 and 1871, and it is equally certain that in January of the latter year they gave it to the sister-institution in London where it now is.

Among the many things for which the modern lover of horses may be grateful to *Eclipse*, it is not often realised that one of the most important is the foundation of the first veterinary college in London, which was, it is fair to say, a direct result of St. Bel's brilliant dissection of the body. The first veterinary college recorded is that established in 1761 in a convent at Lyons, where the first professor was Bourgelat, of whom St. Bel was a pupil.

Charles Vial de St. Bel, was born at Lyons in 1753; his father was the Mayor of the City, and his second surname was taken from a neighbouring estate. His parents having died in 1756, he was placed under the guardianship of M. de Flesseille, and by the age of seventeen he was attending Bourgelat's lectures at the Lyons College, which Bracy Clark visited later on when France was less dangerous for English travellers. By 1773 Saint Bel was appointed a public Demonstrator, and in the next year he celebrated his majority by taking five students on an extensive tour, undertaken by command, to stop an outbreak of epizootic

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in France. After this the King sent for him to Paris, made him an Equerry, and gave him an official position in the capital, where the sonorous title of "Maréchal de France" is an interesting echo of the deference once paid to the invaluable trade of farriery. But his native town could not get on without him, and he returned south to become a Professor at Montpellier. Soon afterwards the patronage of the Prince de Lambesc, which had already benefited him at Court, secured him the chief position in the great "Manège" at Lyons. In June 1788 he came to England with letters of introduction to Sir Joseph Banks and others, and before returning to France he married an English wife. Impending revolution, and the confiscation of his estates, drove him out of France again; and on reaching London once more he was proscribed as an *émigré*. But his chance soon came. In February 1789, the brilliant young Frenchman (he was only thirty-six) was asked by Andrew Dennis O'Kelly to dissect the body of *Eclipse*. The result of his work, published in a book, made his reputation for ever.

By his influence in the next year (1790) a meeting of gentlemen interested in the Agricultural Society of Odiham (Hants) resolved "to form an institution to be called the Veterinary College, and to appoint M. Saint Bel to the professorship," writes John Lawrence, who edited a collected edition of Saint Bel's works after his death. The writer of the life in the "Dictionary of National Biography" gives February 11, 1791, as the date of the important meeting mentioned, and Mr. Blenheim's Coffee House, in Bond Street, as the place. Whichever may be right, it is certain that Saint Bel founded veterinary science in England on its present lines, that he was first professor of our first veterinary college, and that the dissection of *Eclipse* gave him the opportunity of proving himself capable of both. The Duke of Northumberland was President of the new institution, with Sir T. C. Bunbury, M.P., among the Vice-Presidents, and before 1792 Saint Bel had been formally appointed, and stabling was built in Red Lion Square by the authority of a committee, on which John Hunter served.

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But Saint Bel's enjoyment of the post was doomed to be as short as Dennis O'Kelly's tenure of Cannons; for on August 4, 1793, he was seized with a shivering fit, and in seventeen days he was dead. He was buried at the College's expense in the vaults of the Savoy Chapel in the Strand. He is described by Bracy Clark "as a tall, stout, bony man, of a very dark swarthy complexion, and prominent cheek bones; the lower jaw large, and dark eyes."

Saint Bel was no doubt inspired to write his great book by the interest he would naturally feel in comparing *Eclipse* with the ideal medium standard horse of the French school, as laid down by his old master Bourgelat. But apart from the importance of his detailed description of *Eclipse*, the book is remarkable for an imaginative insight, based on those details, which is among the highest gifts that any scientific writer can possess. The author showed, for instance, by mathematical calculation, that the fore- and hind-legs of a galloping horse must necessarily occupy a certain position at a given moment of the gallop when fully extended. Very few of his contemporaries can have believed him. But instantaneous photography has made us wiser, and by its aid we can now see in any of the illustrated papers a horse's legs in those positions which Saint Bel described long before such photography had ever been invented. These positions consist in the extreme forward reach of the hind-legs and the extreme backward reach of the fore-legs, as will be obvious when we come to examine more closely the diagrams by which Saint-Bel's book is illustrated. The work is now rare and seldom to be found in good condition. I shall therefore quote from the copy in the British Museum, from which the diagrams were reproduced for these pages. With these diagrams I would ask my reader to compare the careful measured painting of *Eclipse*, done from life by Stubbs, which is the type taken for all the horse's best portraits, and also the photographs of the skeleton in Red Lion Square, and of the various bones in detail.

It will no doubt be expected that I should here give a

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careful tabulation of the size of *Eclipse's* bones as compared with the best horses we know before and after his time. It is neither lack of industry nor want of perception that prevents me from accomplishing what I fondly imagined, when I began this book, would be one of its most interesting tasks. In future editions I look forward to its accomplishment; but for the present we are all kept waiting by a very curious difficulty among the Biologists and the Men of Science, which they will have to settle for themselves as soon as possible, for no one else can settle it for them. The majority of my readers will share my own surprise in learning that the whole question is one about the exact measurement of bones. It will not do here to take the obviously simple course of placing a bone between uprights and measuring it "over all." I find that so long ago as 1790 such good authorities as Saint Bel and Bracy Clark differed as to the measurement of certain bones of *Eclipse*. No doubt the "extreme points" they chose were not the same. So recently as the summer of 1906 an official of the British Museum of Natural History, who most kindly superintended the photographing of the skeleton for me in Red Lion Square, produced his form of measurement, which differed from that of both his predecessors. I have no doubt that another equally well-informed gentleman of science would in the present year of grace produce a measurement differing from all three. I find exactly the same difficulty in measuring modern thoroughbreds for purposes of comparison. The only solution would be that the man who measured the skeleton of *Eclipse* should also measure the skeleton of modern horses. Saint Bel, alas! has not lived long enough. But when our scientific gentlemen have settled on some common mode of procedure that will be universally accepted, I shall hope to compare the bones of *Eclipse* with those of *Touchstone*, and perhaps with those of some famous descendant in the same direct line who is still alive, as I write, and then I think the results will indeed be worthy of the attention of biologists and breeders; and then, also, to use the words in which

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Saint Bel described one of his chief ambitions, "we should be enabled to establish the true conformation of the race-horse, and at any given time to discover whether the breed had degenerated."

I am very far from implying that the work of Saint Bel, and the modern photographs of *Eclipse's* bones, here reproduced, are rendered valueless by what has just been said. It should rather be understood that, in what I hope may be the near future, they will possess an even greater exact value than they do now. Their general interest can never be diminished; and in the case of Saint Bel himself I can even give an instance of that comparative method which is always so desirable; for he found that when compared with the table of the geometrical portions of the horse in use at the veterinary schools of France, *Eclipse* measured in height one-seventh more than the French standard; his neck was one-third longer; the perpendicular line falling from his stifle touched the ground some distance in front of the toe instead of touching the toe itself; and the distance from the elbow to the bend of the knee was considerably longer than the distance from the bend of the knee to the ground, whereas the French standard gave these measurements as identical. The latter point is, I think, the most important. Good judges consider that a horse's knee being set on low, or "well let down" after the pattern of a greyhound, is a point in favour of speed, and in this case it is no doubt one reason why *Eclipse* proved faster than the French horses from whom the French standard was compiled. It should also be noted that Saint Bel gives his height from the withers to the ground as 66 inches (or $16\frac{1}{2}$ hands), which is much taller than he was thought to be by the eye-witnesses I quoted in previous chapters; but he confirms their description by adding that the height from the top of the rump to the ground (which he gives as 67 inches) was greater, and he notes that the length of the body from the most prominent part of the breast to the extremity of the buttocks was greater still, namely 69 inches. "It was worthy notice,"

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he also remarks, "that the heart weighed fourteen pounds," which is evidently an increase on the corresponding organ in animals to which he had been previously accustomed. I will now give further details in his own words, the "head" being 22 inches, and the "part" being one inch, in the calculations which follow :

*Table of the geometrical Proportions of Eclipse drawn up by
Vial de Saint Bel.*

The head, divided into 22 equal parts, is the common measure for every part of the body. If the head appears too long or too short in a horse, that common measure must be abandoned, and the height of the body taken from the top of the withers to the ground. This height, being divided into three equal parts, one of these three parts subdivided into 22 equal parts will give a just geometrical length, such as the head would have given had it been rightly proportioned.

AAAC. 3 heads and 13 parts, give the height of Eclipse, when properly placed, from the foretop to the ground.

AAA. 3 heads from the withers to the ground.

AAA. 3 heads [and one part] from the rump to the ground.

AAA. 3 heads and 3 parts, the whole length of the body, from the most prominent part of the chest, to the extremity of the buttocks.

AAA. 2 heads and 20 parts, the height of the middle of the body, through the line of the centre of gravity.

AAC. 2 heads and 7 parts, the height of the highest part of the chest from the ground.

AAC. 2 heads and 5 parts, the height of the perpendicular line, which falls from the articulation of the arm with the shoulder, directly to the hoof.

AB. 1 head and 20 parts, the height of the perpendicular line, which falls from the top of the fore-leg, dividing equally all its parts to the fetlock.

AB. 1 head and 19 parts, the height of the perpendicular line from the elbow to the ground.

AB. 1 head and 19 parts, the distance from the top of the withers to the stifle. The same measure also gives the distance from the top of the rump to the elbow.

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A. $1\frac{1}{2}$ head, the length of the neck from the withers to the top of the head. The same measure also gives the length of the neck from the top of the head, to its insertion into the chest.

A. 1 head, the width of the neck at its union with the chest.

D. 12 parts of a head, the width of the neck in its narrowest part.

D. The same measure gives the breadth of the head, taken below the eyes.

A. 1 head and 4 parts, the thickness of the body, from the middle of the back to the middle of the belly.

A. The same measure gives the breadth of the body.

A. The same measure gives the length of the rump from its summit to the extremity of the buttocks.

A. The same measure gives the distance from the root of the tail to the articulation of the femur with the tibia, commonly called the stifle.

A. The same measure gives the length from the stifle to the hock.

A. The same measure gives the height, from the hock to the extremity of the hoof.

B. 20 parts of a head, the distance from the extremity of the buttocks to the articulation of the stifle.

B. The same measure gives the breadth of the rump or croup.

E. 10 parts of a head, the breadth of the fore-legs from their anterior part to the elbow.

F. 10 parts of a head, the breadth of one of the hind-legs taken beneath the fold of the buttocks.

F. 8 parts of a head, the breadth of the ham taken from the bend.

F. The same measure gives the breadth of the head above the nostrils.

G. 7 parts of a head, the distance of the eyes, from one great angle to the other.

G. The same measure gives the distance between the fore-legs.

H. 5 parts of a head, the thickness of the knees.

H. The same measure gives the breadth of the fore-legs above the knees.

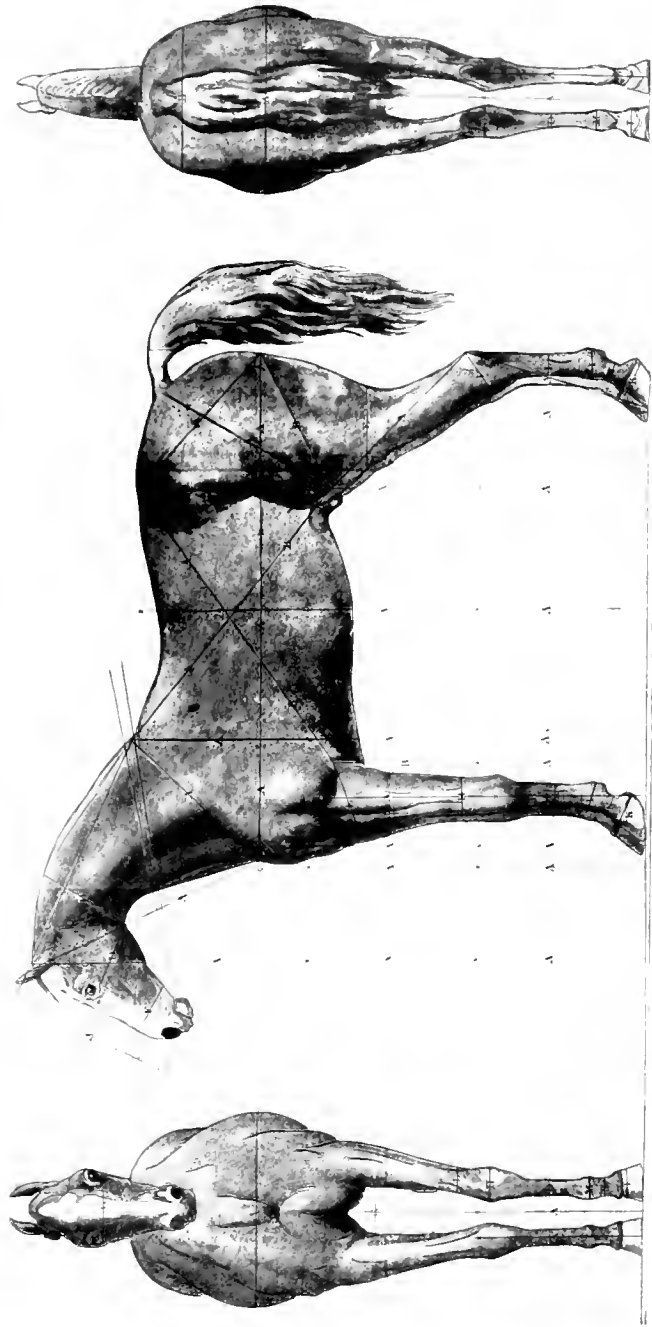
H. The same measure gives the thickness of the hams.

I. 4 parts of a head, the breadth of the pastern or fetlock joint.

I. The same measure gives the thickness of the coronet.

K. $4\frac{1}{2}$ parts of a head, the breadth of the coronet.

Geometrical Study of the Horse in various positions and eclipses



SAINT BEL'S GEOMETRICAL STUDY OF ECLIPSE

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L. 3 parts of a head, the thickness of the fore-legs in their narrowest part.

L. The same measure gives the breadth of the hinder-legs, or shanks.

M. $2\frac{3}{4}$ parts of a head, the thickness of the hind pasterns.

M. The same measure gives the breadth of the shanks of the fore-legs.

N. $2\frac{1}{4}$ parts of a head, the thickness of the fore pasterns.

N. The same measure gives the breadth of the hind pasterns.

O. $1\frac{3}{4}$ parts of a head, the thickness of the fore and hind shanks.

Extent of Flexion in the Parts which compose the Extremities.

F. All the lines which proceed horizontally and obliquely from the centre to the circumference of each circle, and on which is the letter F, mark the extent of flexion, either forward or backward.

The Fore-Legs.

A. The shoulder describes a portion of a circle, equal to 40 degrees, both forward and backward, the centre of its motion being in the middle of the shoulder-blade.

B. The humerus, or arm, is represented in the centre of flexion backward ; it describes 40 degrees in its action.

C. The cubitus, or fore-arm, is represented at the beginning of its flexion forward, and describes 90 degrees in its action.

D. The shank, or canon, is at the beginning of its flexion backward and describes 90 degrees in its action.

E. The pastern, coronet, and foot, describe, one with another, in their flexion backward, 100 degrees.

RECAPITULATION.

	Degrees.
A	40
B	40
C	90
D	90
E	100
Total of the flexion . 360	

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Hind-Legs.

G. The haunch, or os ileon, bends upward and downward, and describes 30 degrees in its action.

H. The femur, or thigh bone, is represented in the middle of its flexion forward and describes 50 degrees.

I. The tibia is represented in one-third of its flexion backward, and describes in the whole, 80 degrees.

K. The shank is represented in the beginning of its flexion forward, and describes 100 degrees.*

L. The pastern, coronet, and foot, describe, one with another, 100 degrees.

RECAPITULATION.

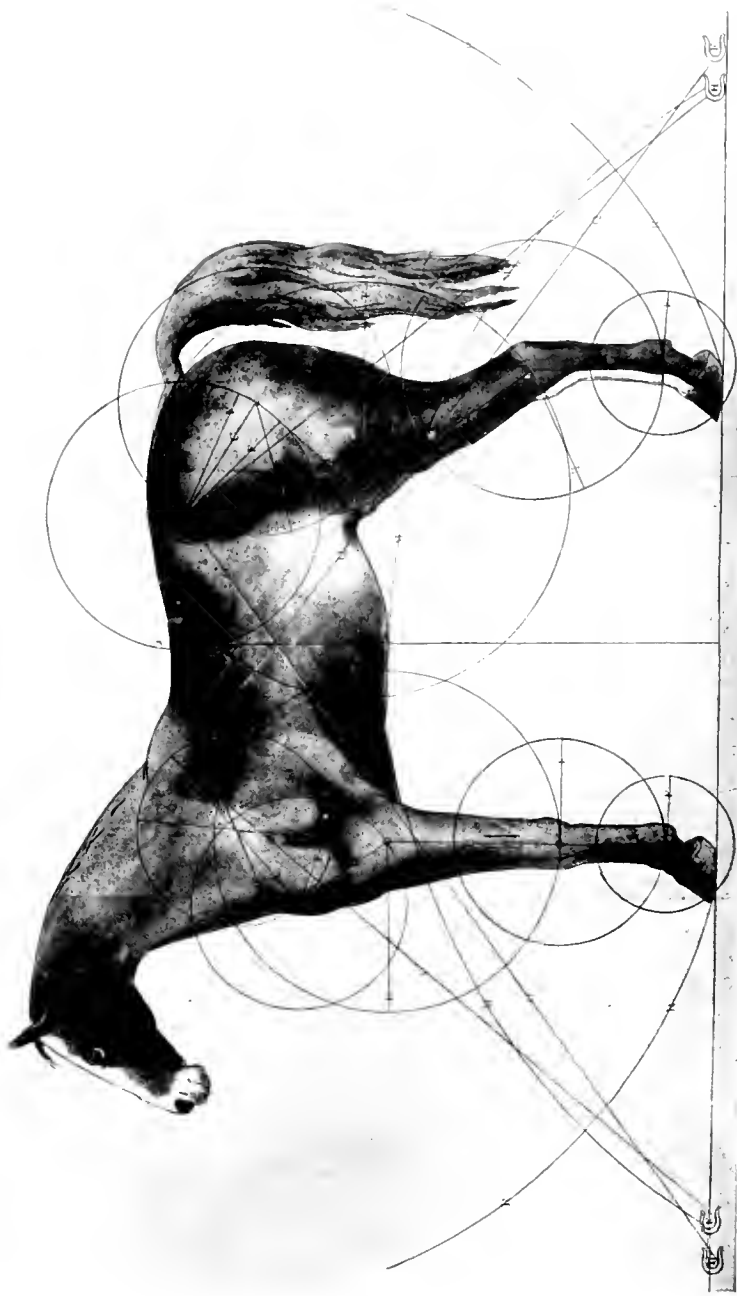
	Degrees.
G	30
H	50
I	80
K	100
L	100
Total of the flexion .	360

We may see by this, that the legs of Eclipse, in their flexion in the gallop, described each a circle of 360 degrees; and consequently, the extent of the action of each leg was the same in the extension.

To this must indeed be added the force of action, without which a horse cannot even walk. This force depends chiefly on the power of the muscles, and can only be computed by experiment; since they are animated organs, which move parts merely mechanical: but, in allowing Eclipse a good muscular organisation, which he certainly possessed, we may, examining the length and direction of his legs, and the greatness and openness of the angles, formed by the alternate disposition of the bones which composed his extremities, pronounce with the greatest probability, that Eclipse, free of all weight, and galloping at liberty in his greatest speed, could cover an extent of 25 feet at each complete action on the gallop; that he could repeat this action twice and one-third in each second; consequently, that

* The line of flexion of this part is not placed sufficiently high in the plate.

*Anatomical, Geometrical, & Mechanical Drawing representing the Actions
of the Legs of the late Famous Colossus*



SAINT BEL'S ANATOMICAL STUDY OF ECLIPSE

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employing without reserve all his natural and mechanical faculties on a straight line, he could run nearly four miles in the space of six minutes and two seconds.

HF. These two letters placed in the four prints of the feet, which are marked before and behind the horse's legs, show where he placed his hind- and fore-feet in the gallop.

Lines of Progression.

M. The great segment of a circle, which proceeds from the print of one of the hind-feet, and enters the print of one of the fore-feet, shows the total extent of ground which the horse covered at each complete action in the gallop.

N. The oblique line, which proceeds from the protuberance of the hip bone, and meets the print of the first hind-foot, shows the total extent, and the force of action, of the hind-legs.

O. The second oblique line, which proceeds in the same manner from the point of the hip, and meets one of the prints of the fore-feet, shows the position of the hind-foot when it presses the ground in the act of galloping.

P. The third oblique line, which proceeds from the summit of the shoulder, and meets one of the prints of the fore-feet, shows the extent and force of action in the fore-legs.

Q. The fourth oblique line, which proceeds from the shoulder, and meets the last print of the hind-feet, shows the spot from whence the fore-foot rises in the progression, until its action is finished.

R. The two curve lines which proceed, the one from the hoof of the fore-foot, and the other from the hoof of the hind-foot, mark simply the compass of the extension of the four legs.

After this exhaustive analysis, which should be carefully read in conjunction with the diagrams to which it refers, I will only add a few words with reference to the conformation of *Eclipse* from such passages as bear upon my subject in the works of those well-known authorities, the late Captain M. H. Hayes (in "The Points of a Horse," second edition, 1897), and Major-General Sir John Hills, R.E., K.C.B. (in "Points of a Racehorse," 1903); and it will then only be necessary to complete what survey is now

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possible to us of this vital question by a consideration of the more modern types (and skulls) which I reproduce in these pages.

The difficulties of measurement will be immediately apparent—apart from the question about bones already mentioned—if I give here a comparison of three measurements as taken from *Eclipse* by Saint Bel, and from *Ormonde* and *St. Simon* by Captain Hayes. It is necessary to remember that Saint Bel says (1) the height of *Eclipse* from withers to ground was three heads; (2) this height was 66 inches; (3) *Eclipse's* head-measurement was divided into twenty-two equal parts. From these statements it is a simple calculation that *Eclipse's* head was twenty-two inches long and St. Bel's "part" corresponds to one inch. The question at once arises how Saint Bel arrived at his various measurements for *Eclipse's* head, height at withers, and length of body. If he took them when the horse was alive, as Captain Hayes did with *Ormonde* (at 4 yrs.) and *St. Simon* (at 3 yrs.), we reach the curious fact that *Eclipse* was a little taller (at 25 yrs.), and had a much longer body but a much shorter head than his modern descendants. If you explain the shorter head by saying that Saint Bel measured the skull, while Captain Hayes had living subjects, it is even more impossible than before to understand the other two measurements.

The table is as follows :

	Capt ⁿ Hayes		Saint Bel
	in 1887	in 1884		in 1789
	<i>Ormonde</i>	<i>St. Simon</i>	<i>Eclipse</i>
	4 yrs. old	3 yrs. old.	25 yrs. old
Height at withers . . .	64½	63¼	66
Length of body . . .	61½	59½	69
Length of head . . .	24½	24	22

The differences here emphasised cannot be fully explained by the fact that *Ormonde* and *St. Simon* were measured without shoes, whereas Saint Bel does not say



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whether *Eclipse* wore shoes or not. For we have already had the evidence of Bracy Clark that towards the end "*Eclipse's* fore-feet were dropped in the hoofs and foundered and his coffin-bones were very much rounded and diminished by absorption," so that apart from all other considerations we should not have expected Saint Bel to have found him so tall. The great increase over *St. Simon* in length of body is an even clearer proof that we are dealing with different methods of measurement; for Captain Hayes has established that, as a class, shire horses are about nine inches longer than their height, whereas racehorses, as a class, are some three inches higher than their length. "Short on the leg," in fact, implies, in his opinion, strength rather than speed, and a short-legged horse, whose length was greater than his height, would, according to his figures, be more fitted for the cart than the race-track. Most unfortunately Captain Hayes says as little as Saint Bel about the method of measurement employed to arrive at the statistics he publishes.

The measurements of Lord Rockingham's *Sampson*, said to be "the largest-boned bloodhorse ever bred," have been preserved, so I will reproduce them here, together with those of Lord Howard de Walden's *Zinfandel*, but again I must warn the reader that I cannot guarantee the two horses having been measured in exactly the same way.

	<i>Sampson</i> (1745)		<i>Zinfandel</i> (1900)
	15 hands 2		16 hands 2
Coronary band to centre of fetlock	{ fore-leg . 4 inches	... ..	5½ inches.
	{ hind-leg . "	... ..	6¼ "
Centre of fetlock to centre of knee	{ fore-leg . 11 "	... ..	12½ "
Bend of knee to elbow	19 "	... ..	19½ "
Least measure round leg {	below knee 8½ "	... ..	8½ "
	below hock 9 "	... ..	9¾ "

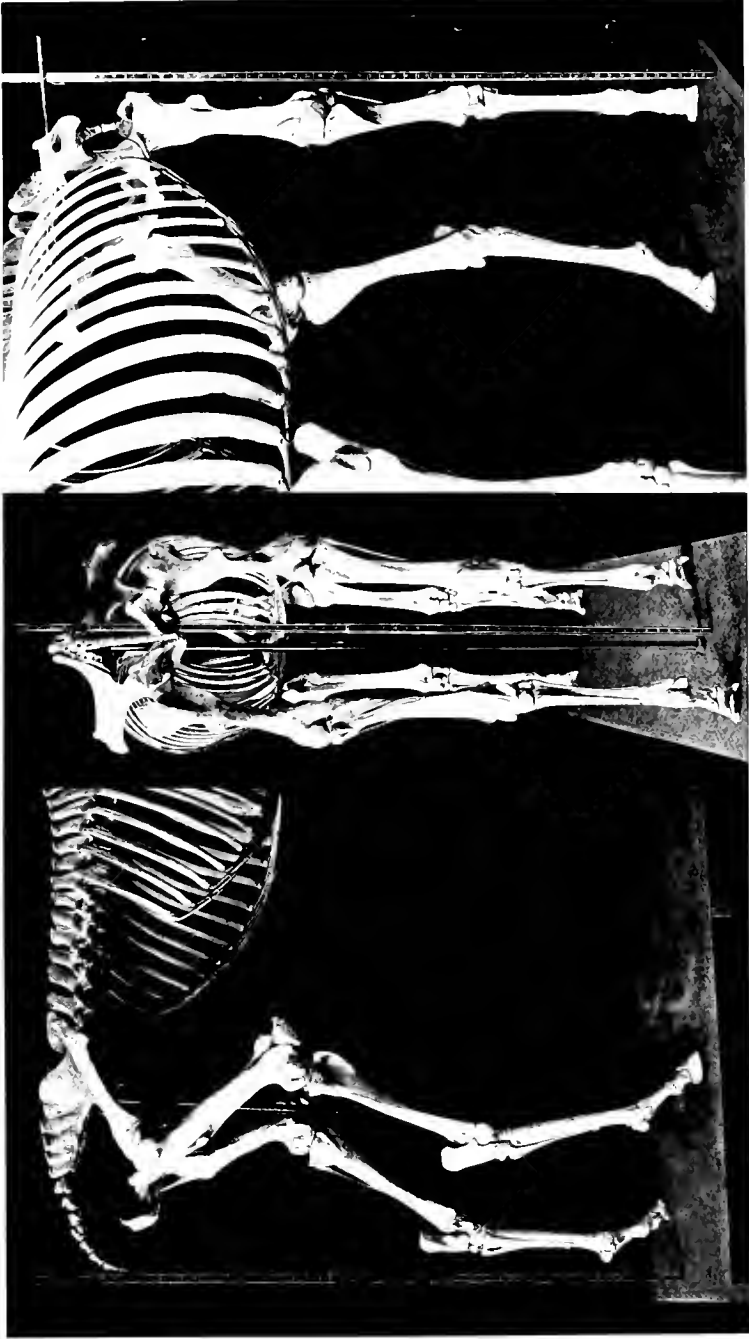
It is also fortunately possible to correct by practical experience the statement of Vial de Saint Bel that

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Eclipse covered "25 feet at each complete action on the gallop . . . free of weight and galloping at liberty." This was evidently the result of mathematical calculation; but it will be found to be as good an instance of accurate foresight as the same clever author's deduction from general principles of the position of the legs, now shown to exist by instantaneous photography. For Saint Bel gives *Eclipse's* full stride without a jockey as twenty-five feet, and his descendant, *Charles XII.'s*, full stride as he passed the post for his dead-heat in the St. Leger of 1839 was measured to be 24 feet 6½ inches.

Captain Hayes, whose recent death all lovers of the horse deplore, also deprecated, in the case of racehorses, any appreciable increase in height at the croup over the height at the withers, an increase which we know, both from eye-witnesses and from Saint Bel, existed notably in *Eclipse*. Captain Hayes also puts the limit of useful height in racehorses at 16.3, within which *Eclipse* certainly was, at the withers. But then, Admiral Rous, in stating the result of the long observations of his racing life, put the increase in the height of racehorses at one inch in every twenty-five years since the eighteenth century. Taking him to mean the average height of the best on the Turf at each period, the generalisation must undoubtedly be taken to be correct, unless the mass of facts we have about eighteenth-century racing, Give-and-take Plates, and so forth, are all based on incorrect measurement. Any one who can remember English racing since 1850, and who has visited the paddock at Epsom in most subsequent years, will admit that the average height of the field for the Derby and the Oaks is much greater than it used to be. Now and then we get a throw-back like *The Bard* (15.1) who, I take it, was about the size of the best of the old ones and was only beaten because the best of our fields could outstride him.

In the Derby of 1906, for instance, *Lally* was 16.2, nearly all the others were 16, and there was nothing under 15.2. In such a large field you will never find nowadays horses as small as *Little Wonder* (15 hds.), *Amato* (15),



ECLIPSE'S SKELETON—HIND LEGS, SIDE, BACK, AND FRONT VIEW

From photographs taken by W. E. Geary by permission of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 40, Lion Square, London

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

Daniel O'Rourke (14.3) who won in 1840, 1838, and 1852 respectively, or even as *Little Red Rover*, *Perion*, and *The Bard* who ran second.

On the whole, in fact, the average nowadays, among the first flight, would be over 16 hands, whereas in 1745 15.2 (the height of *Samson*) was considered to be gigantic. What must they have thought of *Eclipse's* height when he was foaled in 1764? Not much, if we may judge from the relatively low price Wildman gave for him; and my own opinion is that 15.2 hands is much nearer *Eclipse's* real height than the figures given by Saint Bel. Captain Hayes thought English horses had increased an average of an inch in height between 1867 and 1897, and that the average horse was six inches taller than he was 200 years ago. This, though a more conservative estimate than that of Admiral Rous, tends equally to confirm my suspicion as to Saint Bel's figures; for I have nowhere found any contemporary evidence remarking on *Eclipse's* abnormal stature, which would have certainly been mentioned if he had been 16.2, in spite of the well-known fact that a perfectly proportioned animal never looks so tall as he really is.

When we come to principles of conformation, we are on much safer ground, and my readers will no doubt be glad to leave those questions of exact measurement, which were only introduced here owing to their vital importance to both biologists and breeders, and owing to my earnest desire that some agreement among scientific men may shortly be reached by which these problems may finally be placed on a more accurate basis.

An examination of Stubbs's portrait, which is reproduced with this chapter because it is more carefully and accurately done than any other known picture of *Eclipse*, will show that he exhibited most of the points laid down by Captain Hayes as essential to a racehorse, *e.g.*, flat loins, broad gaskins, long neck, light forehead, flat shoulders, high and long withers, long and straight-dropped hind-legs. But Sir John Hills has gone more carefully into this matter than did

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Captain Hayes, who, he points out, did not realise the vital importance of a long femur ending in a low and well-developed and muscular stifle-bone and joint, turned well outward, such as was almost perfectly exemplified in *Bendigo*. This conformation enables a horse to tuck his legs well under and increase his stride. The greyhound does not gallop in the same way as a horse does, though our forefathers evidently thought it did, before the invention of instantaneous photography; but it is chiefly enabled to get along so fast after a hare because its hind-legs are brought so far under that they pass beyond the fore, owing to its very long femur; and these hind-legs can overlap the fore-legs during the process owing to the fact that the stifle-joint is well turned out. This, then, is clearly one cardinal point in the conformation necessary for speed.

A second essential is the angle of the slope from the point of the shoulder to the point of the elbow, which should be as nearly perpendicular as possible, and this is much more important than the slope of the shoulder-blade from the withers to the point of the shoulder, which is excellent in its way, but should not be valued more highly than the principle just mentioned, as is usually the case. The longer and more upright the slope from the point of the shoulder to the point of the elbow, in proportion to the length of the shoulder-blade, the better; and the elbow should be low, free from the body, with a large and prominent joint. This implies a proportionately longer and a more perpendicularly-placed humerus than is usual in any but the best horses. In the case of *Ormonde*, his humerus was nearly as long as his shoulder-blade, and the slope was remarkably upright. Here the pendulistic action of the humerus fulfils the same functions as the pendulistic action of the femur in the hind quarters. The lower portion of the shoulder-blade should, in fact, possess some degree of free movement and play, and the joint should appear loose and easy. This is much more important than the position and slope of the shoulder-blade at rest, because the angle passed through by the humerus at a gallop is very great, as in the case of the femur,



EQUINE SKELETON. FORE LEGS, SIDE, FRONT AND BACK VIEW

From photographs taken by H. T. Gray by permission of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, 111, Eton Square, London

DEATH OF *ECLIPSE*

and therefore the more nearly perpendicular the natural position of the humerus is when at rest, the further forward will the fore-leg swing in passing through this angle of movement. The effect of this may be noticed more clearly in the greyhound than in the horse, as we observed in the previous case of the movement of the femur.

The gradual prolongation of the humerus in proportion to the scapula in various animals can also be shown to be exactly commensurate with their relative speeds. In the horse the humerus is generally shorter than the scapula, except in the case of such remarkable animals as *Ormonde* or *Eclipse*. In the antelope tribe it is slightly longer. In the cheetah it is 30 per cent. longer. In the lynx it is 60 per cent. longer.

Sir John Hills says that in *Eclipse* the scapula was reputed to be $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches and the humerus $12\frac{3}{4}$; but an examination of my photographs, accompanied as they are by a measuring wand, will show that there seems to be much less difference than this. Sir John Hills also gives *Hermit's* measurements as $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the scapula and $13\frac{3}{4}$ for the humerus, concerning which the same considerations I have mentioned before, as to the absence of a scientific standard, must unfortunately apply.

Returning for a moment to the femur and stifle-joint, it will complete Sir John Hill's synopsis of the cardinal points of a racer if I add that his third essential is power in the loins and length in the quarters, which promise the quick striking necessary to give the best use to the best machinery. It is also true that most good walkers can gallop fast. If, in walking, a colt places his hind-foot well beyond and slightly outside the fore-foot, while his fore-legs move freely forward with a sort of swing, and the hoof moves well in front of the point of the shoulder, his action will probably be good at all paces. At the gallop his hind-legs should be well tucked under him and the action of the fore-legs should be low, level, smooth and well extended. As a type of what we have developed since *Eclipse's* day, *Persimmon* may well be taken, for it would be difficult to

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find a Derby winner better built. He has great depth from withers to brisket, a perfectly-made straight hind-leg, both from stifle and from rump to pastern, with good gaskins, low and well-developed stifle, long and perpendicularly-placed humerus, a free elbow and a fine shoulder. He descends in direct tail-male from *Eclipse*, and no doubt has preserved some of the best points of O'Kelly's stallion in his own beautiful conformation.

CHAPTER VIII

ANDREW O'KELLY, THE HEIR

Inundatione equorum ejus operiet te pulvis eorum ; a sonitu equitum et rotarum et curruum movebuntur muri tui

PART I.—AT THE RACE

Mares sent to *Dungannon* from 1788 to 1798—Colours on the Turf from 1764 to 1820—The Prince of Wales's Bill—The Prince's Stud—Lord Belfast, afterwards Lord Donegal—His Letters—His Purchases—His Complicated Financial Transactions—His Bills—William Whaley—Loans, Drafts, and Agreements—Dispute as to Sales—O'Kelly's Stud in 1790—Lord Egremont—Sir F. Standish—Mr. Concannon—Letters from Brighton Races—Stable Accounts—Horses at Wycombe—*Trifle* and *Wrangler*—Sam Chifney's Annuity—The *Escape* Incident—Chifney's Letter—*Vivaldi* and *Water*—*Schedona*—Captain Marston—Major St. Paul—General Lake—O'Kelly's Horses in 1805.

ANDREW O'KELLY, who took so much pains to preserve for the world the proportions of *Eclipse*, was very far from observing those conditions in his uncle's will which were calculated to stop his following in the Colonel's footsteps on the Turf. It was perhaps asking too much of the man who owned *Eclipse*, *Dungannon*, *Volunteer* and *Vertumnus*, and who would take a lively interest in the doings of such famous sons of *Eclipse* as *Pot8os*, *Phosphorus*, *Jupiter*, *Thunderbolt* and *Sorcerer*. In any case Andrew O'Kelly was a friend of the Prince of Wales when "George P." was at the zenith of his racing career, and his election to the Jockey Club soon after the death of Dennis does not look very much as if his uncle's

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wishes had been strictly observed. There must have been some way out of it, for the racing memoranda of his, which have been kindly lent me by two of his collateral descendants, are full of unquestionable documentary evidence that he raced a great deal.

On January 25, 1788, he gave a power of attorney to his father, Philip O'Kelly, to secure the fees on mares covered at Clay Hill, and I am able to publish here *Dungannon's* list from 1788 to 1798, which is of great interest :

Mares Cov'd by DUNGANNON 1788	No. of mares	No. of mares	No. of mares
	No. of mares	Mr Croke	1
Lord Grosvenor	3	L ^d G. H. Cavendish	1
S ^r George Armytage	2	Rev ^d Mr Rose	1
Duke of Grafton	1	S ^r John Key	1
Mr Bailey	1	Mr Phillips	2
Champion Dymark	1		
Mr Martin	1	DUNGANNON 1790	
Duke of Bedford	6	Capt ⁿ Key	2
Mr Hull	1	Councillor Lad	1
Mr Broadhurst	1	John Lowther Esq ^r	1
Mr Galloway	1	Mr Bullock	1
L ^d Barrymore	1	Mr Broadhurst	3
Mr Phillips	1	Capt ⁿ Smith	1
L ^d Clermont	2	Hon ^b le George	
H.R.H. Prince of		Villiers	1
Wales	2	H.R.H. the Prince of	
Capt ⁿ Smith	1	Wales	2
DUNGANNON 1789		Earl Strathmore	2
S ^r George Armytage	3	Duke of Grafton	3
S ^r John Webb	2	Mr. Golden	1
John Graham Esq ^r	1	Rev ^d Mr. Rose	1
Mr. Broadhurst	2	Mr Bott	2
H.R.H. Prince of		Duke of Bedford	3
Wales	2	Mr Baldock	1
Duke of Bedford	3	Mr Pelham	1
S ^r Charles Bunbury	1	S ^r Charles Bunbury	1
Duke of Norfolk	2	Mr Goodesson	1
John Barker Church		Councillor Morgan	1
Esq.	1	Mr Hamilton	1

Lord Macaulay, was that of which I sent you a copy,
and which you afterward gave to B. Adams.

It is of so much consequence to me to be republished
understand on that point that I have made an extract
of the part I particularly alluded to, and shall be
exceedingly obliged by your re-removal of it.

I have the honor to be

My dear Sir

That I sincerely and faithfully
your obedient servant

A. G. O'Kelly

ANDREW O'KELLY

DUNGANNON 1791	No. of mares		No. of mares
Mr Richardson . . .	1	Mr Goodesson . . .	1
S ^r George Armytage . . .	3	Mr Chambers . . .	1
John Lowther Esq ^r . . .	1	DUNGANNON 1794	
Councillor Lad . . .	1	Baron de Robeck . . .	1
Mr Croke	1	Mr Stirling	2
Mr Ladbroke	1	Edw ^d Corbett Esq ^r . . .	7
Earl of Strathmore . . .	2	Mr Crosby	1
H.R.H. the Prince of		Mr Golding	3
Wales	2	Duke of Queensbury	1
Duke of Bedford	1	Mr Bradshaw	1
Duke of Grafton	1	Mr Bailey	1
Mr Bott	2	Mr White	1
Lord Kensington	1	DUNGANNON 1795	
Mr Chambers	1	L ^d Belfast	1
Mr Baldock	1	Tho ^s Bowes Esq ^r	1
DUNGANNON 1792		Coln ^l Strutt	1
Councillor Lad	1	DUNGANNON 1796	
Capt ⁿ Smith	1	L ^d Belfast	1
S ^r Frederick Vane	2	Mr Bott	1
Count Lindeneau	4	Mr Rutter	1
Mr Stirling	1	Mr Wright	1
Duke of Grafton	1	J. H. Durand Esq ^r	3
Mr Holt	1	DUNGANNON 1797	
Duke of Bedford	1	Duke of Grafton	1
W ^m Herrick Esq ^r	1	S ^r Gilbert Heathcote . . .	1
J. P. Chichester Esq ^r . . .	1	Mr Ramsbottom	1
DUNGANNON 1793		DUNGANNON 1798	
Mr Holt	2	Edw ^d Corbett Esq ^r	6
L ^d Belfast	1	Mr Rutter	1
Mr Stirling	3	Mr Smith	1
W ^m Herrick Esq ^r	1	Dr Moorcroft	1
Duke of Grafton	2		
Rob ^t Ladbroke Esq ^r	1		

This gives one of the best possible lists of breeders on the Turf during a very important decade, and though I reproduce the exact spelling of the original manuscript, a

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

large number of the names will easily be recognised. In 1788, "Dymark," for instance, is now spelt Dymoke, and the privilege of his family, as "champion" of the Kings of England, was fully described on the occasion of the last coronation. The Prince of Wales, it will be noticed, sent two mares the year after Dennis's death, and continued to do so until 1791, the date of the *Escape* catastrophe. The name of Sir Charles Bunbury occurs in 1789, when a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Rose, appears, as he does in 1790 also. In 1794 occurs the Baron de Robeck, and all lovers of hunting will remember that to the end of the season 1905-6, a Baron de Robeck was Master of the Kildare Foxhounds. There are many other well-known names on which I need not linger, and it will perhaps be convenient to insert in this place a list of the colours worn in those days by prominent racing men. Among other colours given in J. B. Muir's "Raciana," during the period from 1764 to 1820, are :

Lord Abingdon	1774 .	Blue & white stripe.
Mr. A. Annesley	1796 .	Skyblue, black cap.
Sir G. Armytage B ^t	1790 .	Yellow with black velvet spots, black cap with yellow spots.
Sir Willoughby Aston B ^t	1789 .	Black & white stripe.
Mr. Ayrton	1790 .	Green & white stripe.
Sir C. Bamfylde B ^t	1777 .	Purple with green stripe.
Hn. J. S. Barry	1792 .	Lilac, straw coloured cap.
Earl of Barrymore	1792 .	Broad blue & yellow stripe.
Duke of Bedford	1792 .	Purple, with white stripe.
Earl of Belfast	1794 .	Red, black cap.
Lo. Edw. Bentinck	1779 .	Orange, maroon cap.
Duke of Bolton	1777 .	Light orange.
Lord Baringdon	1783 .	Green, black cap.
Mr. Thos : Brand	1775 .	Purple & buff.
Mr. Thos : Bullock	1783 .	Straw trimmed with purple.
The Earl of Burford	1800 .	White, black cap.
Mr. Burlton	1780 .	Yellow with purple & yellow cap.
Lord Carteret	1784 .	Black & white, paned.
Lord Cavendish	1789 .	Straw, black cap.



ACUTER (BY RELIANCE)

From an engraving by Wood in the British Museum after the painting by Galpin

ANDREW O'KELLY

Col : Charlton	1793 .	Black.
Earl of Clarendon	1796 .	Black waistcoat, red cap.
Lord Clermont	1772 .	Scarlet.
M ^r . L. Concannon	1796 .	Purple with black cap.
"	1799 .	Broad pink & white stripe.
M ^r . J. Cookson	1798 .	Purple, strawcoloured cap.
Hon. T. W. Coventry	1800 .	Buff and blue.
Lord Craven	1773 .	White satin, crimson cap.
Earl of Darlington	1792 .	Pink & black Stripe.
Sir Ch. Davers B ^t	1779 .	Black & white.
M ^r . E. H. Delmé	1796 .	Blue trimmed with pink, black cap.
Earl of Derby	1780 .	Green & white stripe.
"	1788 .	Black, white cap.
M ^r . Dodsworth	1794 .	White, black cap.
Marquis of Donegall	1792 .	Blue & yellow stripe.
"	1800 .	Black.
Sir Th: Dundas	1782 .	White, scarlet spots.
Earl of Eglinton	1811 .	Tartan waistcoat & cap.
Earl of Egremont	1781 .	Green, white stripe.
"	1788 .	Dark green, black cap.
M ^r . W. Fenwick	1773 .	Red, black cap.
Sir H. Fetherstonhaugh B ^t	1781 .	Yellow, black cap.
Earl Fitzwilliam	1790 .	Dark green, black cap.
Sir Thos: Gascoigne B ^t	1779 .	Black & white quartered.
M ^r . Gascoyne	1774 .	Peagreen & red stripe.
M ^r . H. Goodricke	1790 .	Grey, crimson stripe, white cap.
Hon. M ^r . Greville	1775 .	Green & white stripe.
Duke of Hamilton	1790 .	White, crimson sleeves, black cap.
Hon. G. Hanger	1777 .	Harlequin.
Sir J. Honeywood B ^t	1796 .	Purple waistcoat, orange sleeves & cap.
M ^r . Jennings	1777 .	Black, white girdle, black & white cap.
Earl of Jersey	1809 .	Dark blue, white stripe black cap.
Sir John Lade B ^t	1780 .	Straw, trimmed with purple.
M ^r . Warwick Lake	1804 .	Purple, black cap.
Earl of Lauderdale	1791 .	Black.
Miss Le Clerc	1806 .	White & yellow, black cap.

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Sir J. F. Leicester B ^t .	. 1792	. Purple, edged with gold.
Earl of Lonsdale	. 1792	. Orange.
Sir H. Mainwaring B ^t .	. 1807	. Blue, black cap.
Lord Milsintown	. 1801	. Orange & green.
Lord Monson	. 1807	. Scarlet body, white sleeves, scarlet cap.
Lord Montgomerie	. 1807	. Yellow body, blue sleeves & cap.
M ^r . Montolieu	. 1792	. Orange.
M ^r . Thos. Panton	. 1773	. Buff.
”	. 1792	. White, red cap.
Sir Fernando Poole B ^t .	. 1801	. Black.
M ^r . Pratt	. 1773	. Red, black cap.
Col: Radcliffe	. 1790	. Crimson, black cap.
M ^r . Delmé Radcliffe	. 1796	. Blue, trimmed with pink, black cap.
Duke of Richmond	. 1806	. Yellow, red cap.
Sir M. White Ridley B ^t .	. 1812	. Pink, white stripe.
Duke of Rutland	. 1808	. Blue with purple sleeves.
Viscount Sackville	. 1792	. White with black cap.
Hon. R. L. Saville	. 1802	. Green & white.
Sir C. Sedley B ^t .	. 1773	. Blue, black cap.
Sir John Shelley B ^t .	. 1779	. Purple, black cap.
”	. 1804	. Black, white cap.
General Smith	. 1781	. Scarlet.
Lord Sondes	. 1798	. Deep yellow, green cap.
Duke of St. Albans	. 1792	. Orange & green stripe, black cap.
Sir Frank Standish B ^t .	. 1783	. Mazarine blue.
Earl of Strathmore	. 1802	. Black.
Sir M. M. Sykes B ^t .	. 1806	. Orange, purple sleeves & cap.
Col: Tarleton	. 1792	. Black, green cap.
Sir H. V. Tempest B ^t .	. 1796	. Yellow & lilac stripe.
Sir Ch. Turner B ^t .	. 1781	. Orange.
Sir W. Vavasour B ^t .	. 1790	. Black, yellow stripe.
Lord Vere	. 1783	. Orange & green stripe, black cap.
Sir T. Wallace B ^t .	. 1796	. Purple and orange stripe, black cap.
M ^r . J. B. Warren	. 1760	. Red, black cap.
Sir John Webb B ^t .	. 1790	. Yellow, black arms, red cap.



A RACING SCENE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

From a lithograph in the possession of H.R.H. Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein

ANDREW O'KELLY

Colonel Whaley . . .	1817 .	White cambric body, right sleeve coquelicot satin, white cap tied with coquelicot.
Mr. W. Whaley . . .	1800 .	White cambric body, with satin coquelicot sleeves, coquelicot velvet cap.
Earl of Wilton . . .	1810 .	Mazarine blue, black cap.
Earl of Winchilsea . . .	1792 .	Yellow, black cap.
Sir Roland Winn B ^t . . .	1802 .	Straw.
Hon. C. Wyndham . . .	1782 .	Yellow, blue cap.
Sir W. W. Wynn B ^t . . .	1802 .	Green & red waistcoat.

Colonel Dennis O' Kelly's colours were, as we have seen, scarlet with a black cap, and no others are correct for a picture of *Eclipse* when racing, though even contemporary authorities like J. N. Sartorius are occasionally wrong.

In 1792 Andrew O'Kelly had scarlet with a light-blue cap. The Prince of Wales used in

1783—Crimson waistcoat, purple sleeves, black cap.

1790—Purple, white striped waistcoat with scarlet and white striped sleeves, black cap.

1792—Purple waistcoat, scarlet sleeves trimmed with gold, black cap.

1801—Crimson waistcoat with purple sleeves, black cap.

1806—Purple waistcoat with scarlet sleeves trimmed with gold, black cap.

George IV. in

1827—Crimson body, gold lace, purple sleeves, black cap.

I am also able to reproduce one of Philip O'Kelly's bills sent in to the Prince of Wales, which seems to show that Andrew O'Kelly had a kind of racing partnership, in certain cases, with His Royal Highness in 1788, 1789 and 1790. The Mr. Lake mentioned at the end of the account is evidently the superintendent of the Prince's stables mentioned by Sam Chifney in "Genius Genuine," with reference to the *Escape* incident, of which I shall have more to say, for it will be a new fact to most followers of racing

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history that after Chifney exchanged the annuity granted him by the Prince for a capital sum, it was Andrew O'Kelly who guaranteed its payment.

The bill is as follows :

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES D^e. TO P. O'KELLY.

1788.	Scota at Newmarket won 50 and 100 . . .	£75 0 0
1789.	D ^o King's Plate at d ^o 100 . . .	50 0 0
	Gunpowder two fiftys at Stafford 100 . . .	50 0 0
1790.	Scota at Lewes 60 . . .	30 0 0
	Gunpowder 50 at Newmarket 50 at Huntingdon and 50 at Stafford 150 . . .	75 0 0
		280 0 0
1789.	Colt Miss Kitty by Volunteer . . .	157 10 0
1790.	D ^o by Dungannon . . .	157 10 0
1789.	D ^o Omar Mare . . .	525 0 0
1789.	D ^o Duchess . . .	525 0 0
	His bill for cover and keep . . .	209 5 0
		1854 5 0
	For three years for Scota as p. agreement . . .	315 0 0
		2169 5 0
	Rec ^d W. Lake Esq ^{re} . . .	100 0 0
		2069 5 0

In connection with the bill reproduced above, it will be remembered that the Prince won the Derby in 1788, and scored 185 wins between 1784 and 1792, involving (exclusive of stakes and plates) a sum of 32,688 guineas. In 1788 alone he won £4000, besides his Derby, and in 1792 he won £7700 by means of *Whisky*, *Cleopatra* and *Queen of Sheba*, who were all by *Saltram*, a son of *Eclipse*. In 1791 the Prince's winners included :

Devi Sing by *Eclipse* (150 gs. and £50 at Lewes).

Don Quixote by *Eclipse* (100 gs. and £50 at Newmarket).

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Pegasus by *Eclipse* (King's Plate at Newmarket and 140 gs. at Stockbridge).

Serpent by *Eclipse* (80 gs. at Brighton, the Lady's Plate and 60 gs. at Lewes).

St. David by *Saltram* (Second class of the Prince's Stakes at Newmarket).

Baronet by *Vertumnus* (Oatlands at Ascot, and King's Plates at Winchester, Lewes, Canterbury and Newmarket).

Clementina by *Vertumnus* (£50 at Swaffham and 200 gs. at Newmarket).

This list does not include such good ones as *Amelia*, *Escape*, and *Traveller*, all by *Highflyer*, or as *Mademoiselle*, by *Diomed*, and *Creeper*, by *Tandem*; but it shows pretty conclusively the interest which the Prince naturally took in the O'Kelly stud.

Next to the Prince of Wales it was, I suppose, Lord Belfast, who became Lord Donegal on his father's death, who was most closely connected with Andrew O'Kelly's racing, and it seems that these two, with Mr. Concannon, ran horses together for some time, until the partnership ended in the reckless extravagance and fatal encumbrances of the young peer, whom I shall call Lord Donegal in future, to avoid confusion. I find his name as running *Curb*, by *Dungannon*, out of *Flirtilla*, ninth in the Derby of 1801, which was won by Sir Charles Bunbury's famous *Eleanor*; and he ran fifth in the same race nine years afterwards with *Fortitude*, by *John Bull*, out of *Trifle*.

I reproduce here two letters from Lord Belfast (as Lord Donegal then was) to Philip O'Kelly :

Oct. 31, 1794.

To PHILIP O'KELLY.

SIR,

You are to deliver my mare Queen of Scots and her colt foal by Anvil and my yearling filly by Fidget out of a sister to Volunteer and my yearling colt by Dungannon out of sister to Escape to the bearer.

Your humble servant,

BELFAST.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

LORD BELFAST to PHILIP O'KELLY.

CANNONS near EDGWARE,

Dec. 4, 1794.

SIR,

I received your letter to-day which I take the earliest opportunity of answering, and I should be much obliged to you if you would call on me at three o'clock on Sunday next at 44 Weymouth St. and I will be at home. By so doing you will much oblige.

Your obedient humble servant,

Hill House.

BELFAST.

Lord Donegal's transactions were not invariably marked by great attention to business details, as the following details regarding his purchase of horses in September 1794 will show. They are copied from various manuscripts, the first two being from the O'Kellys' memoranda of the sale, and the others are transcribed from the evidence given in legal proceedings which followed.

I

Horses sold by PHILIP O'KELLY to LO. DONEGAL.

September 22, 1794.

Chestnut colt by Volunteer out of Herod mare grand dam by Matchem—Regulus—Old Sterling—Old Partner—Crofts bay Barb—Makeless—Brimmer—Dodsworth—Burton Barb mare (rising three).

Bay Filly by Fidget out of Eclipse mare Granddam by Tartar—Mogul—Sweepstakes—Curwen bay Barb—Old Spot—Vintner mare (rising two).

Bay colt by Dungannon out of Highflyer mare—Granddam by Squirrel out of own sister to Sir James Lowther's Babraham. The above mare is own sister to Escape (rising two).

Bay colt by Anvil out of Eclipse mare—Granddam by Herod out of own sister to the dam of Highflyer (rising two).

Queen Scotsa bay mare by Eclipse from a Herod mare out of an own sister to the dam of Highflyer. This mare was the best in England.

Sold to Lord Donegal for £3750, the consideration for the two Bonds of £1100 and the Post-obit consideration of £2650.

Sir,

I received your letter to day which

I take the earliest opportunity of answering.

As I should be much obliged to you if you would
call on me at three o'clock on Sunday next at
44 Myrcourt St. as I shall be at home by so

long you will reach other

Yours truly
Wm. Stan. =

John Stan

Decr 24 1794

ANDREW O'KELLY

On the above I need only note that the Marquis of Donegal died on June 5, 1799, being four years and eight months after his son, Lord Belfast, gave the Post-obit; and in consequence of this a very curious legal point came up later, when Counsel's opinion was asked on the following question :

In 1794 the then Marquis of Donegal lived at Fisherwick in England in good health, aged 55. His son Lord Belfast was then 25, of a delicate constitution, and imprisoned in the Fleet, by the Day Rules being permitted to go to all public places and all races and for Hunting, within 30 or 40 miles of London, during an "imprisonment" of several years. Now, under these circumstances, what would have been the Premium for insuring that Lord Belfast would have outlived his father ?

II

Mem^o at foot of bill delivered to Lord Donegal for Horses (dated 1799)

Mr. O'Kelly desires it may be remembered that the above sum of £3750 the price of the five horses with their engagements was fixed by the Marquis himself and Col. Whaley who frequently accompanied his Lordship to Cannons and assisted his Lordship in selecting those horses out of the whole stud and that upwards of six weeks had elapsed before it was completed at a price which Mr. O'Kelly at that time considered to be very reasonable.

The William Whaley mentioned above was one of Lord Donegal's creditors for a large sum. His bay colt *Gulliver* ran fourth in the Derby of 1802; but a rather unpleasant impression of him is created by a manuscript put in evidence at the trial, and signed by Mr. F. C. Philips on board his frigate "Champion" at Spithead, just before she sailed on March 10, 1800. It runs as follows :

William Whaley in the spring of 1793 proposed to Francis Charles Philips, late of Brookley House in Southampton, to lend Lord Belfast £3000 on an annuity of £400; but he added that as his Lordship would play, it would be necessary to get him into play-parties where he (Whaley) could make sure of winning large sums from him; and in consequence all negotiations were broken off.

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III

On September 22, 1794, an agreement was signed by Lord Belfast (with his seal, a fine Greek gem of Hermes holding a lyre; winged feet, a cloak and hat slung behind his back) and witnessed by John Watridge and William Whaley that Philip O'Kelly of Cannons should sell a chestnut colt now rising three, by *Volunteer* out of an own sister to *Calash*, for £630, "provided that the said colt shall happen to win the Derby Stakes in the year 1795, also the sum of £210 in case the colt shall happen to win the first class of the Prince's Stakes in 1795"; also a bay colt rising two by *Dungannon* out of an own sister to *Escape* for £110, "in case this colt should so happen to win the sweepstakes in which he is engaged at Newmarket on the Monday of the Craven Meeting in 1796, seven subscribers of 100 guineas each." The agreement to be null and void if none of these engagements be won, but any part to be paid, with contingencies, as won. Also Philip O'Kelly agreed (and signed separately) to let Lord Belfast go half of a bet of 600 guineas to 20 with Captain Taylor that the said chestnut colt, brother to *Xanthus*, does not win the Derby Stakes in 1795. This latter agreement was witnessed by William Whaley on September 25, 1795.

IV

An agreement was signed on September 22, 1794, by which Philip O'Kelly,

for £2650 paid by the Hon. George Augustus Chichester of Merewell in the County of Warwick commonly called Earl of Belfast, sold him Queen Scotsa by Eclipse out of a Herod mare, with a colt at her foot by Anvil, and supposed to be in foal again by Eclipse; and also a bay colt rising two engaged in a sweepstakes at Newmarket of seven subscribers one hundred guineas each, by *Dungannon* out of an own sister to *Escape*; and also a filly rising two got by *Fidget* out of a sister to *Volunteer*."

These were delivered to Lord Belfast, who was further allowed to have three mares covered by *Dungannon*,

ANDREW O'KELLY

Volunteer and *Anvil* without charge. The witnesses were William Whaley and H. Harpur. This agreement was the consideration of a Post-obit.

The foal Queen Scotla produced was called Scotilla, and bought with the dam by the Earl of Stamford (at three-years-old) when Lord Belfast's stud was sold on a warrant of execution. She won against many capital horses and might therefore "if she had been in the hands of any of the Newmarket gentlemen" have been worth all the money Lord Donegal promised for his whole purchase.

V

From the memorandum of evidence given in the case of the horses bought from O'Kelly by Lord Donegal it appears that Mr. F. C. Phillips was called to give expert evidence.

He knew Lo. Donegal before Sept^r 1794 when he was Lord Belfast and kept thoroughbreds and was well acquainted with the Turf generally. He said the prices given for thoroughbred stock would "depend on the fancy and desire of the purchaser, but the high estimation that Dunganon and Volunteer colts and fillies were held in, from the public running of several of them, makes me think the price agreed to be a just one." He knew Col. Whaley to be a man of good judgment in matters connected with the Turf and thoroughbreds. He considered the O'Kelly stud "to be the best in England and to be held by all persons concerned in keeping of Running Horses as the best of Blood"; and had heard of O'Kelly "selling the produce of his different brood mares for large sums of money." He considered that the fact of thoroughbreds being sold with their engagements for future races made them of greater value than otherwise, as in the case of Lo. Donegal's purchase. He had heard "that Mr Tattersall gave 2,500 gs. for *Escape*," and "it appears from the racing Callender that one colt purchased by the Marquis was out of an own sister to *Escape*."

VI

From the memorandum of evidence given by Hyde in the litigation arising out of the sale of horses to Lord Donegal it appears that

"Mr. O'Kelly's stud at that time consisted of 71 Brood Mares, colts, and fillies." The Marquis of Donegal apparently bought a mare in

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foal, and her filly was the best of 1798, bought by Lord Stamford "when Lord Donegal's things were sold under an execution." . . .
. . . . "Mr O'Kelly's stud at that time in my opinion was the first stud in this country." . . . "I also know that Mr. Ladbrook sold *Magpie* for 2400 gs : *Chanticleer* was sold for 3000 gs. both out of *Eclipse* mares. The late Duke of Bedford gave 2700 gs for *Grey Diomed* and 500 gs for a Foal brother to him."

I am fortunately able to give a more detailed account of Andrew O'Kelly's stud in 1795, which will thoroughly justify the expert opinions quoted above. It is reproduced from a document on which Lord Donegal's opinion of some of the lots is noted in his own handwriting on the margin; and these I have left just as they are in the original.

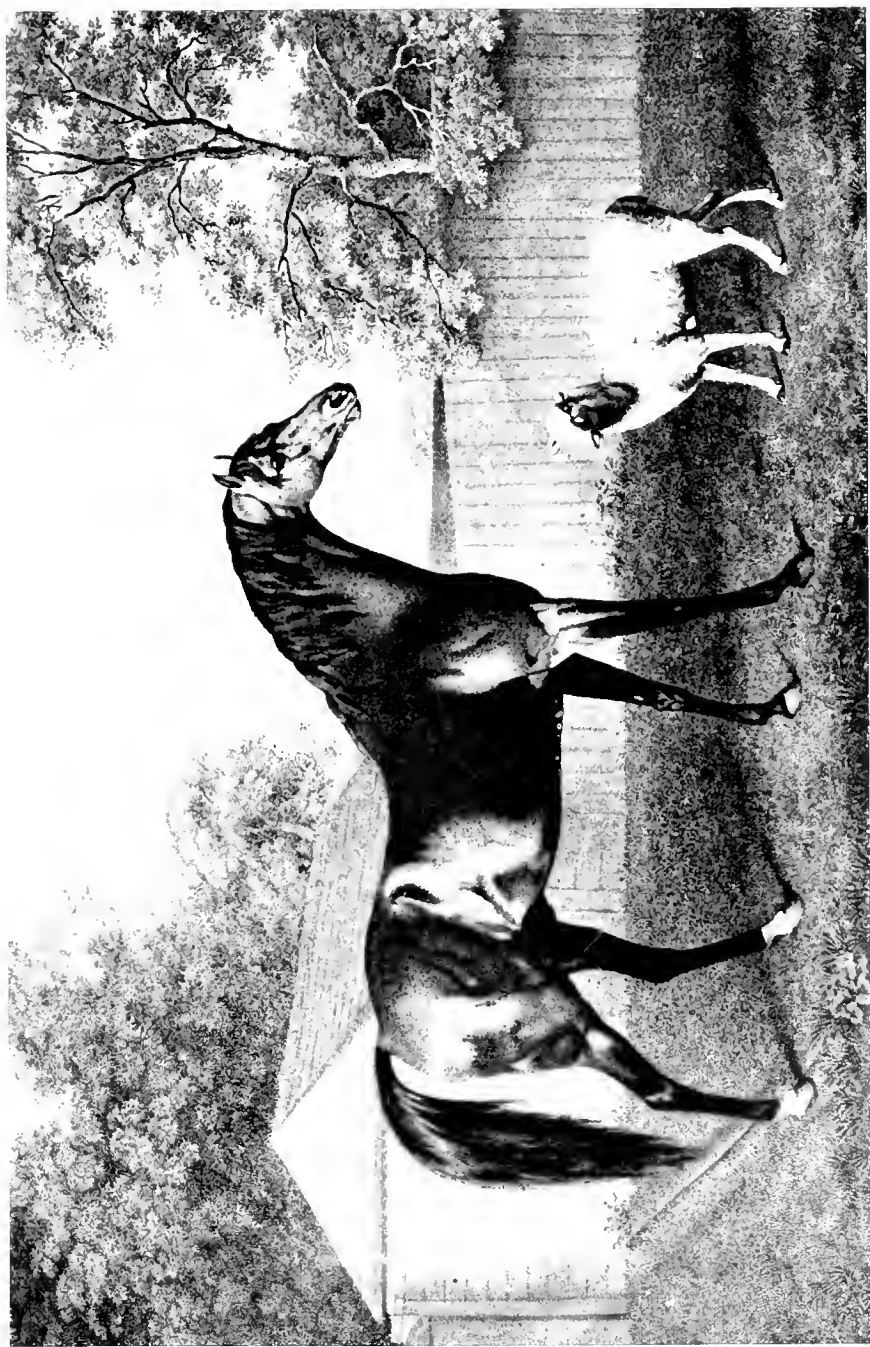
BROOD MARES, COLTS AND FILLIES, THE PROPERTY OF A GENTLEMAN, AT CANNONS, NEAR EDGWARE, MIDDLESEX.

November 1st, 1795.

MARES COVERED BY DUNGANNON, 1795.

Lot

- 1 Annette, a bay mare, got by Eclipse, and is own sister to Saltram.
- 2 Miss Euston, a bay mare, got by Snap, her dam by Blank, grand dam by Old Cartouch—Soreheels, which was the great grand dam of Highflyer.
- 3 A Bay Mare, got by Squirrel, her dam (Dove) by Matchless, grand dam by the Ancaster Starling—Grasshopper—Sir M. Newton's Bay Arabian—Pert. This mare is own sister to Ld Clermont's Brunette, the dam of Trumpator, &c.
- 4 Flirtilla, a chesnut mare, got by Conductor, her dam (Flirt) by Squirrel, grand dam (Helen) by Blank—Crab, out of an own sister to Old Partner.—This mare was a capital runner.
- 5 A Bay Mare, got by Conductor, and is own sister to Flirtilla.
- 6 A Brown Mare (own sister to Mark-ho !) got by Mark Anthony, dam (Noisette) by Squirrel, grand dam (Carina) by Marske, out of Thunder's dam, by Blank.
- 7 A Bay Mare, got by Mark Anthony, her dam by Conductor, grand dam by Squirrel—Marske—Blank.



DENGANNON (BY ECLUSE)

From a print in the British Museum after the painting by G. Stables

ANDREW O'KELLY

Lot

- 8 A Bay Mare, got by Highflyer, dam (Brim) by Squirrel, grand dam by Blank—Crab, out of a sister to Old Partner.—This mare is own sister to Noble.
- 9 Blackthorn, a black mare, got by Turf, her dam (Lady Jane) by Snap, grand dam (sister to Mr Swinburn's Nabob) by Cade—Crab—Childers—Confederate Filly, by Grantham—Rutland Black Barb—Bright's Roan.

BY VOLUNTEER.

- 10 A Bay Mare, got by Herod, her dam by Blank, out of the Witherington mare.—This mare is an own sister to the dam of Rosina, and was never trained.
- 11 A Light Bay Mare, got by Herod, her dam by Blank, out of an Old Cade mare.
- 12 Gossamer, a chesnut mare, got by Herod. This mare is the dam of Mr Wilson's two year old filly, that won the Plate on Friday in the Houghton Meeting, 1793, beating 9 others.
- 13 A Bay Mare, got by Evergreen, out of a sister to Calash.
- 14 Spider, a chesnut mare, got by Herod, her dam (Chrysis) by Careless, grand dam (Snappina) by Snap—Moore's Son of Partner—Childers (dam of Little Driver) Miss Belvoir, by Grantham.—This mare was a good runner.
- 15 A Chesnut Mare, got by Whipcord, own brother to Woodpecker, her dam by Blank, grand dam by Old Crab, great grand dam by Childers, out of an own sister to Old Partner.
- 16 Hip, a bay mare, got by Herod, her dam (own sister to Mirza) by the Godolphin Arabian—Hobgoblin—Whitefoot—Leedes—Moonah Barb mare.
- 17 A Brown Mare, got by Emperor, out of Smack's dam, which was got by Herod, out of a sister to Pacolet.
- 18 A Bay Cropt Mare, got by Herod, her dam (Laura, the dam of Pitch, &c) by Whistle-jacket, grand dam (Pretty Polly, the dam of Coriolanus) by Old Starling—Godolphin Arabian (a sister to Amelia)—Childers—True Blue—Cyprus—Bonny Black mare.
- 19 A Chesnut Mare, got by Pontifex, dam by Blank, grand dam by Regulus.
- 20 A Bay Mare, got by Herod, the dam of Fox and Gustavus.

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Lot

- 21 Miss Spindleshanks, a bay mare, got by Omar, her dam by Starling, grand dam by the Godolphin Arabian—Stanyan's Arabian—Pelham's Barb—Spot—White-legged Lowther Barb—Old Vintner mare. She is the dam of Soldier, Gunpowder, &c.
- 22 Tetotum, a bay mare, got by Matchem.
- 23 A Bay Mare, got by Turf, out of Lot 8.
- 24 Miss Kitty, a bay mare, got by Highflyer, her dam by Squirrel, grand dam (a sister to Sir J. Lowther's Babraham) by Babraham—Golden Ball—Son of Partner, &c. This mare is an own sister to H.R.H. the P. of Wales's Escape.
- 25 Miss Windmill, a bay mare, got by Highflyer, her dam (sister to Greyling) by the Sedley Arabian, grand dam by Regulus.

BY ANVIL.

- 26 A Bay Mare, got by Eclipse, and is own sister to Queen Scots.
- 27 A Bare Mare, got by Eclipse, out of Lot 21. (Miss Spindleshanks). This mare is own sister to Soldier, &c.
- 28 Madcap, a bay mare, got by Eclipse, her dam by Blank, grand dam by Blaze—Greyhound—Curwen Bay Barb.
- 29 A Chesnut Mare, got by Eclipse, her dam by Blank, grand dam by Old Snip—Godolphin Arabian—Frampton's Whiteneck, &c. This mare is own sister to Aurelius.
- 30 Augusta, a chesnut mare, got by Eclipse, her dam (the dam of Hardwicke) by Herod, grand dam by Bajazet—Regulus—Lonsdale Arabian—Bay Bolton—Darley's Arabian. N.B. This mare is the dam of Eliza.
- 31 Lilly of the Valley, a chesnut mare, got by Eclipse, and is own sister to Volunteer.
- 32 A Chesnut Mare, got by Dungannon, out of Lot 2.
- 33 A Bay Mare, got by ditto, out of Lot 24.
- 34 A Brown Mare, got by ditto, out of Lot 4.
- 35 A Chesnut Mare, got by ditto, out of Lot 23.

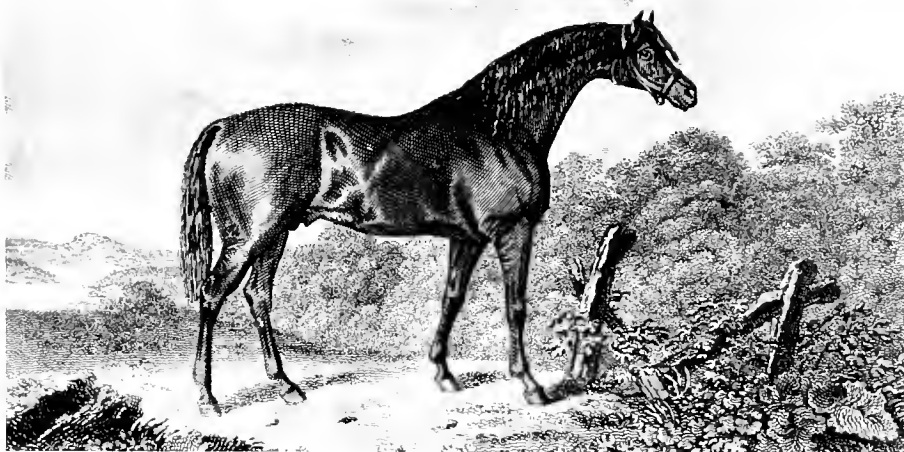
BY GUNPOWDER.

- 36 A Bay Mare, got by Matchem, the dam of Thunderbolt, and sister to the dam of Calash.
- 37 A Bay Mare, got by Herod, dam by Matchem, grand dam by Regulus, out of an own sister to the Ancaster Starling.—This mare is own sister to H.R.H. the P. of Wales's Calash.



SOLDIER (BY ECLIPSE)

From the engraving in the possession of Mr. Somerville Tattersall



THUNDERBOLT (BY ECLIPSE)

From an engraving in the possession of Mr. Somerville Tattersall

ANDREW O'KELLY

Lot

- 38 A Brown Mare, got by Herod, her dam (Marotte) by Matchem, grand dam by Traveller, great grand dam by Hartley's Blind Horse, which mare was the dam of Mr Routh's Stadtholder, Looby, and Frolick. This mare is an own sister to Ld Derby's Dancer, and Mr Hamilton's Bagot.
- 39 A Bay Mare, got by Il Mio, out of a sister to Dancer. Lot 38.

FOALS.

- 40 A Bay Colt, got by Dungannon, out of Lot 7.
- 41 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 6.
- 42 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 8.
- 43 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 3.
- 44 A Chesnut Colt, by Volunteer, out of Lot 16.
- 45 A Chesnut Colt, by ditto, out of Lot 15.
- 46 A Chesnut Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 12.
- 47 A Chesnut Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 18.
- Han' filly* }
but not } 48 A Bay Filly, by Anvil, out of Lot 28.
large. }
- Fine filly* 49 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 31.
- Han' filly* 50 A Bay Filly, by Volunteer, out of Lot 25.
- 51 A Chesnut Colt, by Gunpowder, out of Lot 37.
- Fine* 52 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 24.
- 53 A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 38. *Remark^d fine*

All or any of the above Mares, Colts and Fillies, to be sold, and to be seen at Cannons, near Edgware, Middlesex.

ONE YEAR OLD.

Lot

- 54 A Brown Colt, got by Anvil, out of Calypso. *Very fine.*
- 55 A Bay Colt, got by Dungannon, out of Lot 5. *Very fine.*
- 56 A Chesnut Colt, got by Volunteer, out of Lot 15. *V fine*
- 57 A Chesnut Colt, got by Vertumnus, out of Lot 23. *Med.*
- 58 A Brown Filly, got by Dungannon, out of Lot 24. *V fine.*
- 59 A Bay Filly, got by ditto, out of Lot 3. *Fine.*
- 60 A Bay Filly, got by ditto, out of Lot 8.
- 61 A Dark Bay Filly, got by Volunteer, out of Lot 38. *Very fine.*

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Lot

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 62 | A Bay Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 2. | <i>Med.</i> |
| 63 | A Chesnut Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 18. | <i>Fine filly.</i> |
| 64 | A Chesnut Filly, by ditto, out of Sybil. | |
| 65 | A Chesnut Filly, by ditto, out of Lot 14. | <i>Fine.</i> |
| 66 | A Bay Filly, got by Anvil, out of Lot 28. | |
| 67 | A Bay Filly, got by ditto, out of Lot 30. | |
| 68 | A Bay Filly, got by Vertumnus, out of Lot 20. | |

TWO YEARS OLD.

- | | | |
|------------------|--|-------------------|
| | 69 A Chesnut Colt, got by Volunteer, his dam by Herod, grand dam (Prophetess) by Prophet, great grand dam by Cade, out of a sister to Lodge's Roan Mare. | |
| <i>Very fine</i> | 70 A Bay Colt, got by Anvil, dam by Eclipse, grand dam by Herod, great grand dam by Snap, great great grand dam by Regulus—Old Partner, Woodcock—Croft's Bay Barb—Makeless—Brimmer—Dodsworth, out of the Burton Barb Mare. The above two colts are large, bony, and handsome, unbroke, and fit for any Stakes to come. | |
| | 71 A Chesnut Filly, got by Volunteer, out of Lot 10. | <i>Very fine.</i> |
| | 72 A Bay Filly, got by Anvil, out of Lot 26. | |
| | 73 A Bay Filly, got by Volunteer, her dam by Herod, grand dam by Snap, great grand dam by Regulus, great great grand dam by Old Partner—Woodcock—Croft's Bay Barb—Makeless—Brimmer—Dodsworth, out of the Burton Barb Mare. The above three fillies are large, bony, and handsome—unbroke. | |
| | 74 Young Dungannon, by Dungannon, out of Gunpowder's dam; engaged in a Sweepstakes of 100 gs. each, Craven Meeting, 1796; in the Derby Stakes, and in a Match with Mr. Durand's Alexander filly, at Epsom, for 200 gs. each. | |

STALLIONS TO COVER IN 1796.

The five following (the property of the same Gentleman) at CANNONS, between Stanmore and Edgware, in the County of Middlesex, eight miles from London, and ten from St. Albans.

DUNGANNON, at 15 gs. a mare, and one guinea the groom.

If any of the mares covered by Dungannon last season should not prove with foal, they will be covered this season for 10 gs.

ANDREW O'KELLY

VOLUNTEER, own brother to Mercury, Venus, and Jupiter at 10 gs. a mare, and 10s. 6d. the groom.

He is the sire of Portia and Caelia, who both won the Oaks; of Spread Eagle, who won the Derby in 1795; Nerissa, Stirling, and several other winners.

ANVIL, at 10 gs. a mare, and 10s. 6d. the groom.

He was got by Herod, dam by Feather, grand dam by Lath, great grand dam by Childers (she was own sister to Snip, Blacklegs, &c.)

VERTUMNUS, at 5 gs. a mare, and 5s.

YOUNG DOGE, the TEAZER, at one guinea, and 2s. 6d.

He was got by Doge, his dam by Lot, his grand dam, Black Eyes, by Crab, out of the Warlock Galloway.

He is a horse of great bone and size, and likely to get hunters.

The money to be paid before the mares are taken away. Good grass, &c. and proper care.

There are a number of good paddocks, and yards with large sheds in them, for the mares, in bad weather.

At Clintz, near Richmond, in Yorkshire.

GUNPOWDER, own brother to Soldier, at 5 gs. a mare, and 5s. to the groom.

London : Printed by H. Reynell, No. 21, Piccadilly, near the Hay-Market.

Lord Belfast Mark^d this List [as in italics on the margin above].

This is a long and valuable list for any racing stable, and I may add here the small detail that Philip O'Kelly got a good deal of hay from Cannons, and bought his oats from Messrs. Browne, Bovill, Cole & Co., of Milford Lane, who add to their bill for twelve quarters ordered in October 1800, the words "please pay the shooting one shilling." Another interesting paper among the O'Kelly memoranda of 1795 is a note sent by James Weatherby to Sir Frank Standish, as follows:—

P^d Lord Egremont 25 gs. : for Oaks 1795, Dungannon out of Miss Kitty.

P^d Sir Frank Standish 25 gs. : for brother to Xanthus same year.

D^o D^o 50 gs. : for Viret same year.

This is no doubt the same Sir F. Standish, for the poisoning of whose *Eagle* colt, by placing arsenic in a trough at New-

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market, Daniel Dawson was tried before Mr. Justice Heath at Cambridge Assizes in 1812. The law could not then recognise him as a principal; but bail was refused, and at the second trial he was found guilty and sentenced to death.

It was also in 1795 that Andrew O'Kelly's bay colt by *Volunteer*, dam by *Evergreen*, ran unplaced in the Derby; and it is curious to notice that Mr. Hallett, from whom his uncle had bought Cannons, also ran a chestnut colt by *Volunteer*, dam by *Herod*, which was unplaced in the same race.

I have often wondered whether this was the Mr. Hallett who appears with his bride in the Mall in Gainsborough's loveliest picture. But this must remain only a pleasant possibility.

Mr. Concannon was, as I have said, one of Andrew's racing partners. He became M.P. for Winchelsea in 1820, and I find he ran sixth for the Oaks with *Zemire* in 1796. The same chestnut three-year-old (by *Fidget*) ran again that year at Doncaster, and was fifth for the Cup to *Hambletonian*, *Sober*, *Robin*, *Ambrosio* (who won the Leger), and *Prince Charles*. She also lost a two-mile handicap at the same meeting to *Moorcock*, *Hoby*, and *Governor*, and lost a match at 6st. 11lb. to Sir H. V. Tempest's *Governor* (by *Ruler*) 7st. 7lbs., 4 years. In 1800 Mr. Concannon's *Richmond*, by *Walnut*, ran fourth for the Doncaster Cup, four miles, 100 guineas, three years, 6st., being beaten by *Dion*, *Haphazard*, and *Fanny*, though he started favourite at 5 to 4.

It will be seen from the letters printed below that Mr. Concannon did not always approve of Lord Donegal's somewhat inaccurate methods, which must often have tried the patience even of the easy-going Andrew O'Kelly.

I

Sep. 1, 1799

To COL. O'KELLY, Half Moon Street, London.

BRIGHTON, *Tuesday*.

MY DEAR O'K.

I fear that horse of ours is but a bad one. Depend upon it there is something worse than inattention in his composition. In the

ANDREW O'KELLY

meantime I am distressed to a degree and the — will not give me even a line or an acknowledgment. I wished you to give him my letter sealed that he might not deny the receipt of it. However it shall be as you say. I will wait a few days. Till then I beg you will write to him enclosing this of Henwood and just say that I have written to you for his address and that I conceive myself illused. If he then does not act properly my letter shall go. The whole merit of the filly arrangement is your own I fear ; and yet the old gentleman I have no doubt is a liberal fellow too. I shall write to Prince to send a careful person or come himself. It is a fine moment on account of Cupar [?] who will match all his young ones. If yours turn out well we shall get a good deal of money. At all events you must be concerned in everything that has the appearance of being profitable, and as I shall consult you in everything, if we have the least industry and discretion these very fillies may do wonders for us. I am going on to L^d Gage's [?] to eat a Turtle & return to-morrow with M^{rs} Concannon who has been to Glynde almost all the summer. I wish I could tell you by letter a scene at the ball last night—happened to me. No ! There is nothing like it in all the history of man woman and —. But it will keep & I promise you a laugh. Adieu : Ever yours

L. CONCANNON.

P.S.—I wrote to Prince to ask him whether I shall take the two-year-old or one of each. I rather think the two-year-old will suit us better, and if either turns out well we can next year snap up another from the Chateau de Cannons. Prince will either come or send an order.

The receipt from Henwood runs as follows :

“ Received of Mr. Concannon fifty guineas being the stakes for the Filly sister to Telegraph in a Sweepstakes at BRIGHTHELMSTON won by Mr. Welch's Cobweb filly.

“ W. HENWOOD Clk. of Brighton Races ”

“ Sept 1st 1799.”

II

Sept. 1, 1799.

L. CONCANNON to LORD DONEGAL.

MY LORD

I permit no man to trifle with me or treat me with indignity. You have neither answered my letter or paid your stake of 50 guineas to

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the gentleman who won it & who has this day made a demand upon me for the stake which you ought to have paid long ago. I am now to inform you that I expect you will immediately send me the 60 guineas you owe, 50 of which you have received from Mr. Heathcote, & that you will also add the 50 guineas for your stake which I paid this morning. If not, I shall immediately communicate your conduct to the members of the Jockey Club now here, and you must know the rules as well as I do, that no man can start a horse while his stakes are unpaid.

I am &c.

Your Lordship's servant

L. CONCANNON.

III

Sept. 1, 1799.

[The covering letter to Col. A. D. O'Kelly with that for Ld. Donegal runs as follows :—]

DEAR O'K.

Lord Donegal's conduct is most atrocious. Mr Walsh came to me this morning & I was obliged to pay him 50 gs. at a time when I am in the most serious and calamitous distress. I cannot endure this sort of insolence any longer, & therefore beg of you, in spite of any delicacy you may feel for the family, to deliver the enclosed letter for me. Only conceive his not answering a gentleman's letter! Is this trifling to be borne? And what am I to think of you never writing to me? There were sweepstakes & matches here without number to be made. Men are mad I believe. Write immediately Donegal's answer.

Yours ever

L. CONCANNON.

The majority of Lord Donegal's voluminous accounts, together with some of the O'Kelly correspondence relating to him, I have been obliged to place by themselves in the Appendix. But a few papers in which his name occurs will occur appropriately when I come to deal with the social side of Andrew O'Kelly's career in the next part of this chapter, and I can conclude here a few more details about their racing partnership contained in five different documents, as follows :—

Prize of Mr Connamon Tully Gameer being
The Stake for the Tully ~~Stake~~ Sister to Tullyrepa in a
Sweepstakes at Brijghelinston won by Mr. Welchus
Cobweb Tully Mr Henwood Clerk of Brighton Races

Sept. 1st 1799

RECEIPT FROM MR. HENWOOD, CLERK OF BRIGHTON RACES IN 1799

ANDREW O'KELLY

I

STABLE ACCOUNTS

Sent by O'Kelly to Ld. Donegall

1799

1 mare covered by Volunteer . . .	£12	12	0
Her Keep from May 23 to Nov. 7. . .	£8	8	0
Keep of thoroughbred Stock from September 1800 to September 1801	£213	17	0

II

The Most Noble the Marquis of Donegall.

D^r to Philip O'Kelly Esq^r

1799

	£	s.	d.
To 1 Mare covered by Volunteer . . .	12	12	0
To her Keep from the 23 ^d of May to } the 7 th of Nov ^r 24 weeks . . . }	8	8	0
	<hr/>		
	£21	0	0

III

Letter from

A. D. O'Kelly to Lord Donegall

4 July, 1800.

What orders have you given respecting Winchester? The Prince certainly runs *Knowsley* for the King's Plate, and I think it will be only distressing *Trifle* and throwing away his chance for the Cup to run him against *Knowsley*. George Parkhurst wishes to run a trial with his Bibury horse that won the Welter against something of ours. He thinks him capital & would fix a price upon him before the trial at which we may have him if we wish.

I may note that the horse, *Knowsley*, mentioned above, was the animal on which Sam Chifney rode first past the post for the Prince of Wales at Guildford, with a slack rein, showing that he could do more with a plain snaffle than other men could manage with a Mexican curb. His exquisite "hands" have probably never been surpassed, and only equalled, perhaps, by George Fordham.

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IV

Wycombe, August 5th 1800.

Memorandum of Horses, Mares, &c. sold to A. D. O'Kelly Esq.

Brother to Vivaldi	£260	17	
Precipitate colt out of Equity	£299	8	(Derby 1802)
Precipitate colt out of Recruit's dam	£208	7	
Precipitate filly bought of Bird	£128	14	
Filly by Bacchus out of a Seagull mare	£76	4	
Betsey with a colt foal at foot	£235	8	
By Sir Peter (Derby 1803)			
Recruits dam with a colt foal	£236	12	
at foot by Precipitate (Pavilion Stakes 1804)			
A Sir Peter mare, covered by Pegasus	£113	13	0
Vivaldi's dam covered by Sir Peter	£105		
Fugleman	£400		

V

TRIFLE, WRANGLER, AND OTHER RACE HORSES.

Bill of Sale TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, by MR ALDRIDGE, at Mr the 5th day of April 1800 —from the Sheriff O'Mahoney to Col. O'Kelly.

Moorhouse's Livery Stables, in Piccadilly, on Tuesday, the 30th of December, 1800, precisely at One o'Clock, the following Well-bred HORSES IN TRAINING, the Property of the Marquis of Donegal, in Six Lots.

LOT I.

GREY PILOT, a Grey Horse, by Pilot, Six Years Old.

LOT II.

WRANGLER, a Bay Horse, Six Years Old, by Diomed, out of Flea-catcher. Engaged with Jack Andrews in the Craven Meeting, 1801. the last Mile of the B. C. for 100 Guineas, h. f.

LOT III.

TRIFLE, a Bay Horse, Five Years Old, by Pot80's, out of Trifle. Engaged with Schedona the Second Spring Meeting 1801, the two Middle Miles, B. C. for 300 Guineas, h. f.

LOT IV.

FORTITUDE, a Brown Colt, Three Years Old, by John Bull, out of Trifle. Engaged with Dick Andrews, Craven Meeting 1801, D. I. for 100 Guineas, h. f.



SAM CHIPNEY

From an engraving after a contemporary oil-painting

ANDREW O'KELLY

LOT V.

A CHESNUT COLT, Two Years Old, by Precipitate, bought of Thomas Bird. Engaged in the Derby Stakes at Epsom, 1801.

LOT VI.

A BAY COLT, Two Years Old, by Dungannon, out of Flirtilla. Engaged in the Derby Stakes at Epsom 1801.

N.B.—The above Horses are to be sold without Reference to their Engagements, the Parties directing the present Sale having no Power over them. The Public are therefore requested to observe, that a Purchaser will not be compelled to complete such Engagements, and that the Parties selling will not in any Manner warrant the Completion thereof.

The Horses may be viewed two Days preceding the Sale, and Catalogues may be had at the Place of Sale ; of Mr Stevens, Solicitor, No. 19, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn ; and of Mr Aldridge, in St. Martin's-Lane.

In the year 1801 I find letters from Samuel Chifney to Andrew O'Kelly, who then lived at 46, Half-Moon Street, which is on the western side at the corner of Piccadilly. The whole question of Chifney's annuity is too long to describe in this place ; but I have reprinted in the Appendix the full text of the affidavits prepared for the litigation on the subject, from which it appears that the Prince of Wales had permitted Sam to relieve himself of certain pressing obligations by selling the annuity of 200 guineas granted him during the Prince's life. It was sold to Joseph Sparkes, of Brompton, for 1200 guineas cash. Lord Donegal was first asked to become a surety for the payment of the annuity to the aforesaid Joseph Sparkes, but requested Andrew O'Kelly to do so, which he did. Andrew's affidavit is given in the Appendix, together with Chifney's own statement, which refers to the famous incident about *Escape*.

The affidavit of "George Augustus Chichester Marquis of Donegal" shows that he took Sam Chifney at the end of 1800 as "riding groom" by the Prince's permission. Soon after, H.R.H. expressed a wish that Chifney could sell his annuity, and when Lord Donegal learnt that his peerage prevented him from giving security, he asked Andrew

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

O'Kelly to stand guarantee instead, pointing out that there could be no risk as H.R.H. concurred in the transaction, and that if the annuity were not paid, he, Lord Donegal, would withhold the salary he paid to Chifney. Thereupon Andrew consented, "being desirous to further the wishes of the Prince of Wales to have Samuel Chifney accommodated." A lawyer's letter in 1806 shows that Mr. Gascoigne and Colonel Leigh had just been interviewed on the subject at Carlton House, and that the case would "come on to-morrow," *i.e.*, on February 16, 1806. But five years afterwards there was still trouble; for I find Andrew writing, in that July, to the Right Hon. J. MacMahon to remind him of the facts. Even by 1813 it was not all over; for there is a letter on November 18 of that year in which the Right Hon. J. MacMahon admits he has forgotten the facts, and adds that in the opinion of Mr. Adam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, "there is no ground for making the allowance demanded." How it all ended, I do not know. Its chief interest to the general reader lies in its connection with the running of the Prince's horse, *Escape*.

This incident only bears indirectly on my immediate subject, and I have gone fully into the matter in my "History of the English Turf" (vol. ii. p. 359, &c.); so it will only be necessary to give the slightest sketch of the incident here. The trouble all hinged on two races which took place on October 20 and 21, 1791. Their respective results were:

October 20. Ditch In.

1.	Mr. Dawson's <i>Coriander</i>	. . . . .	4 to 1 ag ^t
2.	Lord Grosvenor's <i>Skylark</i>	. . . . .	5 to 1
3.	Lord Clermont's <i>Pipator</i>		
4.	His Royal Highness's <i>Escape</i>	. . . . .	2 to 1

October 21. Beacon Course.

1.	His Royal Highness's <i>Escape</i>	. . . . .	5 to 1 ag ^t
2.	Lord Barrymore's <i>Chanticleer</i>	. . . . .	7 to 4
3.	Lord Grosvenor's <i>Skylark</i>	. . . . .	11 to 5
4.	Duke of Bedford's <i>Grey Diomed</i>	. . . . .	6 to 1
5.	Lord Clermont's <i>Pipator</i>		
6.	Mr. Barton's <i>Alderman</i>		

ANDREW O'KELLY

After the second race Chifney was had up to explain the running before the stewards, Sir Charles Bunbury, Mr. Ralph Dutton, and Mr. Panton. I have seen nothing in that explanation, recorded elsewhere, which now seems unsatisfactory; indeed, unless Sir Charles knew more than has come down to us, there was no more evidence against Chifney or the Prince of Wales than there was against Sir Charles himself, when his famous mare *Eleanor* (who won the Derby and Oaks of 1801) was beaten by a common plater at Huntington (10 to 1 on *Eleanor*) and beat a first-rate horse next week at Egham (10 to 1 on *Bobadil*). In any case, acting on evidence which has never reached the public, the stewards of the Jockey Club let it be known that if Chifney rode the Prince's horses no gentleman would start against him.

Probably the reasons for this verdict never will be known. We possess, however, Chifney's view of the case, and in this is contained what looks like a complete retraction on the part of Sir Charles Bunbury, made when it was too late and the mischief was done. It is in any case very difficult to believe that the Prince would either benefit himself by a villain's malpractices, or allow a rascal to cheat others by means of one of the royal horses. Nor is he likely to have given the public recognition of Chifney's honesty implied in the annuity, if much doubt had been possible. His personal feelings he showed very clearly by selling off a large part of his stud and never racing at Newmarket again.

I will now print half a dozen letters concerning Chifney's connection with Andrew O'Kelly and his racing partner, Concannon, after the *Escape* incident.

I

To COLONEL O'KELLY, 46 Half Moon Street,
Piccadilly, London.

SIR

According to your desire I have made my wages out to you and I

Am sir

Yours obediently

SA. CHIFNEY.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

NEWMARKET

Sept. 23rd 1801

N.B.—I shall be very glad sir that you will make my duty to Mr Concannon and I shall like for him to give me leave to bett for him these meetings were that I much fancy a Race I will take care that their shall not be no suffering on his side not one farthing that shall be the least improper, I likewise shall make it known by sum very proper means what money he stands loseing upon every race before the race is over when that he has money upon any race.

II

Addressed :—" To Colonel O'Kelly N°. 46 Half Moon Street.

Should the Colonel not be within please deliver it to Mr Concannon immediately." [1801].

SIR

I trouble you to make my Duty to Mr. Concannon. I am sorry I missed the time of Entrance for *Wrangler*, according to his desire, thinking the entrance was the day before running, but they entered for Saturday's plate on Thursday. Not seeing either Mr Concannon or you Sir I have sent *Wrangler* with *Sir Harry* to Winchester as their is a plate for him to run for. I think he will be best to go from their to Brighton & to run for the stake for the winner to be sold.

I am exceedingly sorry at his not starting & just before starting thought *Wrangler* sure to beat [*Vivaldi*]

I think Sir H. will beat [*Water*] and if he do I think his price should be 1000 guineas. I very much wish Mr. Concannon to back him against *Water*. The horses will be at Stockbridge to-morrow and there is fine exercise for them. I am going down to see Richmond and come back to Stockbridge immediately.

Yours sir

Obediently

Sunday.

CHIFNEY.

I may note that Sir R. Heathcote's b. c. *Vivaldi*, by *Woodpecker*, was fourth for the Derby of 1802, and must therefore (if the same horse mentioned above) have been a two-year-old at the time of this letter; but this seems hardly likely if *Wrangler* is the bay six-year-old sold in Lot II. of the sale in December, 1800. The carelessness of duplicating names at this period is responsible for much confusion.

W According to your desire I have
made my wages out to you. Yc

Am L^y your Obedient^y
S. (M. J. M.)

The Market
Sept 23rd 1801.

S^B I should be very glad if that
you will make me out to 1000^l.
And I should like for him to give^{me} leave

ANDREW O'KELLY

III

Endorsed :—"Concannon's Remarks respecting Wrangler, Trifle, &c 1801."

MY DEAR O'KELLY

Chiffney made *Wrangler's* match to-day on purpose to *wait*. The whole Turf was furious at me for being guided by a madman & the odds in consequence were 7 to 4 and two to one—he won very easy, Wrangler was faster much, of which they had no idea—Whaley staked for Donegal. Seeing possible advantage they are taking his forfeits, not paid stakes, and Lord knows what. Weatherby insolent about it. I declared I would pay and demand upon him. I was told they would not let *Trifle* start. I immediately rode to the post myself, and ordered Sam to walk over for the money which he did. I have not entered into *the case* with any of them. I dine with Lord Hampden and Mr. Rigby who are here; I shall probably hear it all after dinner. What a man Donegal is to defend! Can anybody account for this strange neglect? *Trifle* would have won had *Schedona* been well. I never saw a horse look so well. I shall certainly speak most warmly for D. on the question. It is an infamous advantage to take of a person in his situation. Who would have heard of their rules, as I said to-day in the Coffee-Room, had *Schedona* belonged to him? I staked for Vane and myself with no small difficulty and of my p. p. bets not sixpence could I hedge off. [*Ringwood*] came sound and well to the post—we expected him to *win*. In the first quarter of a mile he bolted smack out of the course, and I am now sure it was a *practice* of his, though Vane's man always denied it. I send you a list. If I don't sell *Wrangler* this night he shall go to Brocket Hall for a selling plate on Thursday. They frightened me so much I did not dare to back him as I wished, but there was a *still better reason*.

Adieu, I shall be off to-morrow.

I sold the infamous filly for 30 guineas.

[No signature]

IV

Letter from A. D. O'KELLY to CHIFNEY in December 1801.

SAM

I am extremely glad to see that you are well enough to write again. . . . I desired Mr. Harvey to tell you when at Newmarket that if you and Mrs. Chifney thought a change of air would be conducive to your

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

recovery, to come immediately and you should have an apartment either at my house here or at Cannons and be attended by the first physician in the town.

V

In Chifney's reply occurs the sentence :

I have been impos'd upon in respect to the Bit makers, that has caused the patent to be taken from me and throw'd me into this distress'd situation.

VI

In February 1802, Sam Chifney wrote to 46 Half-Moon Street to Jerry Harris, the boy who looked after *Sir Harry*.

In this letter, which was written for the boy to show Colonel Andrew in order to get his wages, Chifney says :

"I thought of giving you five shillings per week for your wages and cloths which I am sure the Colonel will be satisfied with."

As examples of the kind of men with whom Philip and Andrew O'Kelly had dealings on the Turf, I will give three instances of correspondence with Captain Marston, Major Horace St. Paul, and General Lake; and it may be of interest to preface these with a list of the O'Kelly stud—in part—made out in the course of 1805, with which I must conclude the racing portion of Andrew's career.

I

LIST OF THE O'KELLY STUD IN 1805

Dungannon

Volunteer

Bay mare by Highflyer with colt foal by Sir Harry, covered by Dungannon.

Bay mare by Eclipse, own sister to Queen Scots, covered by Ambrosio.

Bay mare by Eclipse, own sister to Soldier, out of Miss Spindle-shanks, covered by Kill Devil.

Chestnut mare, Flirtilla, by Conductor, covered by Kill Devil.

Chestnut mare by Volunteer covered by Kill Devil.

ANDREW O'KELLY

Bay mare by Evergreen out of a sister to Calash, covered by Volunteer
Bay mare Teetotum by Matchem, covered by Dungannon
Bay mare Letitia, by Highflyer, covered by Dungannon
Bay colt 2 yr-old by Sir Harry out of an own sister to Soldier
Bay Filly 2 yr-old by Sir Harry
Bay Filly 3 yr-old by Dungannon out of the sister to Noble.

II

Maj^r Horace St Paul writes to Andrew O'Kelly in June 1804, about fetching thoroughbred stock he had purchased at Clay Hill and at Cannons, and horses kept at Epsom for him, and about a "two-year-old filly going to Sir Harry."

A bill for £803 15s. is handed to Colonel St Paul in 1804 by P. O'Kelly

Containing keep of a bay Mare at £20 17s. a year for eight years from 1795 to 1803. Her fees for

Volunteer (1796) £10 10s.

Dungannon (1797) £12 12s.

Volunteer (1798, 9, 1800, 1, 2) £12 12s.

Volunteer (1803 & 4) £10 10s.

To groom's fees £4 14s. 6d.

Keep of Bay Filly by Dungannon from Nov. 1, 1798 to May 1, 1799 £15 12s. on corn, hay &c. in loose box and paddock, and £36 8s. per ann. afterwards

Keep of Chesnut filly by Volunteer, the same.

Chesnut colt by Volunteer, the same.

To Colt Breaker £2 2s.

Suit of cloths for the Colt £6 10s.

Colts keep with Trainer from 1 Sept. 1803 to 1 May 1804 @ £1 11 6 per week. £50 9s.

Another bay filly & another Chesnut filly, both by Volunteer also appear.

III

Captain Marston gives Col. Dennis O'Kelly two hundred guineas for his Horse in for the Pavilion Stake of 1803 and five hundred more should he win. He will give him fifty (£50) the first plate or match he wins after the stake is run for, and fifty the second he wins

MOLYNEUX MARSTON

27 June 1803
London.

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IV

O'KELLY ESQUIRE *to* GENERAL LAKE D^r

By four mares covered by Anvill	21	6	0
Groom	2	2	0
By oats, 5 Quarters and one bushel at £1 6 0			
p. Q ^r	6	13	3
June 16. By keeping two mares 13 weeks at 7/6			
each per week	9	15	0
By keeping one D ^o 9 weeks at D ^o	3	7	6
By keeping one D ^o 8 weeks at D ^o	3	0	0
	<hr/>		
	45	17	9

This General Lake is no doubt the gentleman who was with the Prince of Wales when he first met Perdita by moonlight on the river bank near Kew, with the Bishop of Osnaburg in attendance. He will, therefore, form a romantic link between the first part of this chapter and the second, in which I must forthwith complete my sketch of the O'Kelly family by giving some idea of Andrew's life among his family and friends at Cannons, or in London.

O. Kelly Esquire.

To General Lake D.

By four Axes Covered by Invoice 21. 0. 0

Groom _____ 2. 2. 0

By Cato 5 Quarters & one bull. at } 6. 13. 0

\$1. 6. 0 of A D _____

Amount By keeping two Axes 13 weeks at 7/16 } 9. 15. 0
each pair _____

By keeping one Ditto 9 weeks at Ditto 3. 7. 6

By keeping one Ditto 8 weeks at Ditto 3. 0. 0
~~4~~ 15. 17. 9

CHAPTER VIII

ANDREW O'KELLY (*continued*)

*Vestiti hyacintho principes et magistratus, juvenes cupidinis, universos equites,
ascensores equorum*

PART II.—AT HOME

Portrait of Andrew by Alexander Pope—"The Prince's Set"—Duns and Bailiffs—Servants—Demand for an Apology—Andrew's Account-books—Mrs. O'Kelly's Furnished Houses—Letter from Mr. Higgins—The Irish Regency—The Militia Colonelcy—Philip O'Kelly's Letter—The Clay Hill Property—Stable Bills—Blacksmith's Bills—Garrard's Painting—Bills from Jewellers and Bootmakers—Venison at Cannons—Lord Ranelagh—Churchwarden and Minister—The Duke of Sussex—Lord Donoughmore and Lord Moira—Mr. Michell's Letters to Dublin—Letter from his Son Charles—Andrew's Will—Philip Whitfield Harvey—The Grattans—Celbridge—Nelson's Burial.

THE portrait of Andrew O'Kelly reproduced with these pages is, I believe, as unknown to the general public as that of his uncle, the more famous Dennis. It was most kindly sent to me from Ballynastragh, Gorey, co. Wexford, by Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, and was painted by Alexander Pope, who was born at Cork, and studied in Dublin. He painted portraits in Cork and occasionally acted on the stage, which led to his visiting London, where he acted Othello, Henry VIII., and other parts with success at Covent Garden. His work was chiefly in the form of miniatures or small-sized portraits, as in the present instance, and he exhibited in the Royal Academy from 1790 to 1821. He died in 1835.

This little painting is an admirable example of his work

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in 1784, while he was still in Ireland, and was probably done while Andrew was on a visit to his relations, the Harveys, in Dublin, and before the death of his uncle Dennis, to whom the original must have belonged. It is excellently drawn, and the tints of the oil-colour are most delicately applied. The features provide yet one more proof (if more be needed now) that the O'Kelly family were originally of good birth and breeding; and this is the more remarkable because Andrew's father, Philip, whom Dennis put in charge of their first racing stud at Epsom, was apparently the least educated of the family, judging from his letters as compared with the handwriting of Dennis. There were two sisters, Mary O'Kelly, who married Whitfeld Harvey, and another who married Sterne Tighe. Neither of these ladies could have been uncultured or uneducated, since they were chosen by husbands who were well known and respected among Irish county families. Nor can Philip O'Kelly's wife have been anything but a refined woman of some social standing, if we are to judge from the face she transmitted to her son. It is not the O'Kelly face, if you compare it with the bony framework and rugged outlines of Dennis in the frontispiece. And it probably bears the impress of the travel and culture which Dennis was careful to give his heir, and which had produced the excellently-dressed young man we see in the picture of 1784. There is the quality which that century called "urbanity" in the face, I think. But Andrew was good-hearted as well; and if he does not betray all the virile characteristics of his uncle, he probably made up for it in the estimation of his contemporaries by a correct behaviour and polite deportment which justified his admission both to the Jockey Club and to the circle of the Prince of Wales. His other acquaintances were both highly placed and judiciously chosen, as will be seen from my extracts from his papers. When he had once made a friend he stuck to him, even when, as in the case of Lord Donegal and others, the friendship involved severe pecuniary losses.

I will give a few typical incidents which may throw some light upon his character and personality to begin with; and



Andrew O'Sullivan
from the original painting by A. Pope in the possession of
Sir Thomas H. Grotton Comonds Bart. M.P. of Ballyquastragh, County of Hereford

ANDREW O'KELLY

shall then take the various documents in their chronological order and allow them to unfold their interesting little story of an Irish sportsman in London from about 1788 to about 1825. Within that period Beau Brummell was at the height of his power, and within it too he paid the price and went into bitter exile, looking out in vain from Calais Pier for the Prince who seemed determined to forget his friend. Within these years arose Almack's Rooms, which became Willis's, through whose hallowed portals even the Duke of Wellington dared not to pass without knee breeches on. Within it came the burial of Nelson, which Andrew O'Kelly attended, and wrote a long description reproduced from his manuscripts in my Appendix. Among the memoranda are scattered details of the cost of living, of rents and taxes, of household expenses, Irish politics, the Duke of Sussex, freemasonry, the militia, constant struggles with tradesmen, bailiffs and lawyers, and occasional hints of obscurer, deeper tragedies. This is no place to treat of all these matters fully; but I have made a selection of what will perhaps be of most interest to the many who will learn for the first time what manner of man was the famous O'Kelly's heir.

From what I have said about bailiffs and duns, it must not be imagined that Andrew was what would now be called "hard-up." The Cannons estate would alone have always prevented that, and I am bound to say he used it pretty freely, with mortgages and tenants and every other form of raising money. But he cannot have left very much behind him when the clearance came to be made by the trustees of his will, for he does not seem to have ever got much out of Lord Donegal to balance all the losses that thoughtless nobleman occasioned.

As early as December, 1800, I find careful note made of a "draft for £3 3s. to pay as a compliment to the sheriff's officer not to arrest Colonel O'Kelly." But these trifles never seem to have bothered him much, and the methodical way he kept his papers and letters shows that it took a good deal to ruffle his serenity. Taking a few of his memoranda for the same year, I find a Doctor Kennedy writing that "Mr.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Parker will call at eleven to see Lady Donegal's necklace," which possibly suggests a pawnbroker. But he and Lord Donegal were then on excellent terms. That February his lordship writes to his "Dear Colonel," enclosing "a draft for the money" from West Wycombe Park, and adding that he was "just come from the foxhounds" and "to-morrow I turn out a deer." The writer was then thirty-one, and had just inherited his father's title; but he writes just as happily and does just the same things, when he is technically a prisoner in the Fleet in 1794.

In 1800, too, Lord Donegal's cook, Fullerton by name, writes to Andrew to intercede for him to be kept in his place at Wycombe, which Andrew no doubt did; for his kindness to servants was only one indication of his sound character. Thomas Sullivan, for instance, apparently a footman, writes as follows in 1800, being obliged to leave his service.

Be pleased to look over my books & point out any charge which you may think improper. You may see that I have charged no board wages when at any gentleman's which is frequently done, neither have I charged for cloaths which cost me a deal of money, as I would prefer your good wishes, your kindness being such to me in the distressed situation I was in when I hired to you as shall always make me feel the most grateful wishes for you & family.

Already it seems that Lord Donegal's difficulties had seriously begun, for in 1800 John Congreve writes from Richardson's in Covent Garden, giving his address at Carrick-on-Suir in Ireland, speaking of the enviable "intimacy with Mrs. Lyon, a charming woman," adding:

I feel melancholy at the idea of not seeing even a distant prospect of salvation for our friend Donegal. He is not candid with his friends. Can there be a greater mistake? You will, I know, stick to him & do for him the best in your power.

Strongly as Andrew O'Kelly stood up for his friends, he knew how to resent an insult, and I give a letter, written about this time, as a model of a form of correspondence that has now gone out of fashion.

Mr. Hemmell, considering his waist-length, wears the trousers.
displeasure of the King.

Mr. Hemmell



ANDREW O'KELLY

Half Moon Street
half past two o'clock
Tuesday morning
to E. M. Esq^{re}

SIR

The unprovoked attack which you thought proper to make upon me last night would have justified the most summary mode that I could have taken to resent it. But the respect I bear to my own character & the society in which it happened rendered it impossible for me to proceed in a manner which most probably I should have done had I been differently situated. My friend Lord Ranelagh who does me the honour of delivering this letter to you has been so good as to undertake to explain to you the absolute necessity of your immediately making me the most ample & satisfactory apology and which I trust upon reflection you will see the propriety of and prevent the consequences which from a refusal must naturally follow and which you yourself will have to answer for.

I am Sir

Your Humble Servant

(Signed) A. D. O'KELLY.

Mr. M. immediately sent back an apology, saying he was "sorry for having used the words he did." He appears, for a respectable sum, on the list of Lord Donegal's creditors, and with this reference I have done with both of them.

Andrew started an account book in January 1788, less than a month after his father's death had handed on the estate. The first entry is 16s. 10d. "to John Jelly, apothecary," and a large number of entries occur every month "to Mrs. O'Kelly." This I believe to be his wife. Other entries are :

in 1788

May 30. To Charles Scofield for painting done at Cannons	£110 16 3
June 5. To Thos Waldron Cabinet-maker	£50 0 0
July 2. To Lochee Limner	£5 5 0

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in 1789

April 6. To three Hogsheads of Claret at £42 per			
Hogshead		£126	0 0

in 1793

May 25. To Crouch for newspapers	£5	5	0
Dec 16. To Robt Fogg for Tea	£12	12	0

in 1794

Feb'y 19. To Tho ^s Clutterbuck Brewer	£50	0	0
Feb'y 20. "To Mr ^s O'Kelly by Mr. Bond for six			
month's rent of my house in Half Moon			
Street"	£80	11	0
and the same item appears in August 1795			
"by Count Tilly."			

in 1796

April 1. To J ^{os} Brookbank	£133	6	8
---	------	---	---

in 1799

April 1. To Mrs O'Kelly to pay her rent, &c.	£94	18	0
April 8. To Mrs C. O'Kelly	£2	2	0

The last entry is April 30, 1801.

In the early years wine and wax candles take a large place, and items like "staymaker," "mantua-maker," &c., proclaim the married man. I will therefore follow up these with a few extracts from Mrs. O'Kelly's accounts from 1795:

Sundries	£1457	7	7
Upholsterers	£450	0	0
Security to Mr Pilton	£820	0	0

Total £2727 7 7 for furnished Houses.

These houses were:

18 Berkeley Square. "Will let by the year for 350 guineas & for six weeks in winter at 10 gs a week, and 6 in summer. Rent £145 a year, taxes about £40."

1 Chesterfield Street "lets for 8 months at 4½ guineas a week & is now let for 7½ guineas for 9 months."

Rent £140 a year, taxes about £25.

ANDREW O'KELLY

33 Half Moon Street "lets for 8 guineas a week for 3 months, and 6 gs a week in summer ; is now let at 250 gs a year."

Rent 100 gs : taxes about £25.

45 Half Moon Street. "Has let for 200 gs. a year, at 6 gs. a week in winter : is now let for a year at £200. Rent £100 a year and taxes about £20."

8 Charles Street, Manchester Square, was taxed at £2 10 a quarter for 20 windows, and the house was rated at £40. (Andrew lived here in 1806.)

In 1799 Epsom house was taken by Lord Elcho, who tried to give his help with Lord Donegal in 1800.

In 1816 a House "in Piccadilly" was let to Lord Audley.

The House at 46 Half Moon Street, which Andrew inherited from his uncle, is now represented by 90 Piccadilly, with the entrance in Half Moon Street.

The next paper refers to Irish affairs, and is written by a friend of Andrew's Dublin cousins.

Letter addressed to Captain O'KELLY,
Near Half Moon Street, Piccadilly,
London, from Mr. F. Higgins, *Feb. 7, 1789.*

STEPHEN'S GREEN.

MY EVER DEAREST FRIEND

To upbraid you for idleness in not writing would be but justice, yet knowing as I do the kindness of your mind and the urbanity and goodness of your heart, it would give me infinite pain to write a line that would be not less grateful than your friendship's.

Your Prince of Wales will no doubt be called to the Regency of Ireland unshackled and without restriction from the House of Commons, for last night on the question of adjournment for a week, the Minister here had a majority of 54 against him and on Wednesday next the Regency business comes on. The most authentic reports mention that Lord Spencer is to be Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr Pelham Secretary, and although I have a knowledge of Mr Pelham, yet as Grattan is the leader here of the new administration I cannot possibly expect to be continued unless terms are timely and immediately made for me in London. . . . Having much injured the paper belonging to me by taking a decided part for the Government of the Country, I do

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most solemnly assure you my life and property were in imminent danger when riot and outrage, tarring and feathering, and whipping prevailed in the city and the Government unable or incapable to prevent it. . . . I am ashamed always towards the ending of my letter to begin talking of your mother, and the unparalleled affection and attention I received from her and good Mrs. O'Kelly. I must also include the Miss Harveys. . . . Please to recollect me in the most kind manner to Mr Clarke.

Writing again on February 11, Mr. F. Higgins says :

. . . . Let me inform you (and I suppose you will be one of the first in England who will receive the information) that on this night, 11th of Feb^y (1789) a resolution has passed to address the Prince of Wales to accept the Regency without restriction or limitation. It is now half past eleven and the House of Commons sitting, great and violent debates going on with regard to the form and manner of voting him Regent, particularly as the English House of Commons has not established a precedent. Lord Loftus, who some few days since obtained the office of joint Postmaster General and who commands ten voices in the House of Commons, Lord Shannon 12, the Duke of Leinster 9, all united and deserted the standard of Government, and on the question of an address to the Marquis of Buckingham the most gross abuse followed ; your friend Mr Curran was extremely severe. On a question of adjournments 54 majority appeared against the Administration, and on this night's debate Government gives little or no opposition. But it is expected that in the Lords a majority will be found to counteract the Commons, and of course great confusion will ensue. Lord Spencer is announced as Lord Lieutenant. . . .

Say for me to your father and mother, good Mrs O'Kelly, and the Miss Harveys, everything that friendship and gratitude can suggest. I hope in God to have you here as soon as this political storm shall have in any degree ceased, and I will return to see them to whom I owe every obligation that friendship and warm regards can be susceptible of.

Adieu, and may all-gracious Providence illumine and direct your footsteps to everything that is conducive to your happiness here and in another world.

Yours in both and Eternally
whilst F. H.

I can't get little Harvey to go to school where I desire. I have not time to read this over.

ANDREW O'KELLY

These letters were, of course, written after the struggle for the Regency which followed King George III.'s serious illness in 1788. It will be recalled that his Majesty's health improved by February 19 next year, and was completely restored by February 26, 1789; but that on February 11, the date of the second letter quoted above, the English House of Commons were still discussing the Regency Bill, which passed on the 12th. No doubt the King's recovery was a severe blow to the Whigs; but it was even worse for the Irish Parliament, for their deputation arrived on February 27, the very day the discontinuance of the bulletins had been announced.

Laughter from the Cambrian rocks
Mingled with the name of Fox ;
Laughter from the British main
Came with clanks of lash and chain. . .

And no amount of hospitality from the Prince, the Duke of York, or the Whig leaders could drown the Homeric merriment with which the unlucky Irish deputation was received.

I have already said that Andrew followed in the footsteps of his uncle, and became a Militia colonel. The three letters bearing upon this are herewith printed below :

I

I do hereby certify and declare that I will immediately on Cap^t O'Kelly's paying into the hands of Hugh Dive Esq^r for my use the sum of two hundred pounds, resign my Lieut-Colonelcy in the Westminster Regiment of Militia in his favor; provided also that the said O'Kelly will truly pay to me fifty guineas more should the said Regiment remain embodied one year from the date hereof. This agreement being the terms Capt. O'Kelly proposed to Capt. Poplett for my Resignation. Given under my hand in London this 25 Jan^y 1793.

(Signed) THOMAS GORDON.

This A. D. O'Kelly accepted, and on March 28, 1795, he paid the fifty guineas agreed upon, for which H. Dive gave his receipt.

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II

On July 27, 1795
Lord Titchfield writes
to A. D. O'Kelly.

SIR

In consequence of a letter I have this day received from Lt. Gen^l Lascelles, I have the honor to inform you that I have not accepted the resignations of Major Chauvel [?] and Captain Mason. I have given the necessary directions to M^r Stable for the production of such papers as may be necessary to you as you desire. M^r Stable is not at present in town and his clerk seems ignorant of what is meant by the Regimental Book I hope, Sir, you will excuse my taking the liberty to suggest to you the expediency of bringing on the Court Martial on as early a day as possible, in order that those officers whose resignations are delayed thereby may suffer as little inconvenience therefrom as may be. It will add much to the importance of the case when I inform you that this suggestion arose from an intimation of H.R.H. the Duke of York. I am sure your good sense will have made this hint entirely unnecessary. . . . I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant

TITCHFIELD.

III

To ANDREW D. O'KELLY Es^r.
Half Moon Street
Piccadilly

Endorsed—From T. Tyrwhitt by order of the Prince on the subject
of a Memorial to the D. of York, 1796.

CARLTON HOUSE

July 15, 1796.

DEAR O'KELLY

In the course of conversation with the Prince the other morning your undeserved situation was our topic for some time. The P. seemed to think something might be done and he recommended a memorial to the Commander in Chief, whom he imagines to be much your Friend, stating in general terms your case, & concluding with a request to be made a Lieutenant Colonel to some other Regiment. He imagines you might manage to negotiate for the other Battalion, but

ANDREW O'KELLY

of this you must be the better judge by far. I could not suffer you to remain ignorant of the Prince's good wishes, & requesting you to lay your commands on me if I can be serviceable, I am, Dear O'Kelly,

Yours sincerely

THOS. TYRWHITT.

These letters give more than sufficient evidence that Andrew, the heir, was called "Colonel O'Kelly" as often as his uncle Dennis, and confusion between them has been natural. I pass on to some correspondence between Andrew and his father, Philip, who evidently lived most of the time at Epsom, with occasional visits to Cannons and London.

On February 25, 1794, Philip O'Kelly writes from London to his son Andrew in Brighton that the house in Half-Moon Street was let to the Hon. Charles Wyndham for three months, at seven guineas a week.

I have been after the gentleman M^r. Anderson who was to pay for the colt and filly for the gentleman in America but he sais there is not money in hand to pay for them. I offered to take his Draft for any given time that he should think but he said that he expected a rupture with America and that conveniences of money would be stopd & there fore could not take on himself to do any such thing, but he would write to the gent^a. and as soon as he would receive the money he would let me know &c. I sold a filly to M^r. Copley here out of Gossamer for 50 guineas and ten the first time she wins &c. M^r. Cluckerbork [!] would send no more Beer. . . . Let your Aunt know that M^r. Wyndham has brought his own bed and I sent for M^r. Glover's man & had her bed taken down & sent to Glover's. M^r. Wyndham has brought as much goods in to the house as quite fill it up. Your Mother is still very bad with the pains in her limbs. The Evergreen mare has dropped a very fine chesnut filly. I received Lord Strathmore's Draft from the Bankers. . . .

This is a charming and very characteristic mixture of horseflesh and town houses, and I may take the opportunity of concluding here what little else I have to quote from the memoranda on the question of the Epsom stud-farm at Clay Hill, and expenses connected with the O'Kelly horses.

On July 13, 1803, there is careful note made that

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Mr. Alcock, steward of the manor, promised P. O'Kelly Esq^r., being fully authorised by Sir J. Maulbry so to do, a grant of the piece of Wastt in the front of the wall to the road from one end of Clay Hill to the other. Mr. Bond the farmer, Mr. Haswell the corn chandler, Mr. Wood the Baker, and Mr. Blank the carpenter were present, and were to form the jury of the Court Leet.

On December 29 of the same year Andrew Dennis O'Kelly let Clay Hill, Epsom (which he had previously let to Smith Pannwell, Esq.) to Abel Craven Esq.

being 12 acres with coachhouse, stables, and outbuildings garden and fields, for £136 10 a year, & Mr. Craven to repair all the estate, & pay all taxes on it & have the usual right of Common to the House.

On June 4, 1827, Mr. S. Langlands (evidently an ancestor of the owner of the present well-known stand) builder, of Epsom, estimates £135 7s. 9d. for repair of roof and brickwork at Clay Hill for H. Grattan, Esq., M.P., and a fortnight afterwards a Mr. Gardom reports that the place is in very bad repair from dry-rot.

Clay Hill came into possession of Henry Grattan, M.P. (second son of the celebrated patriot), through his wife Mary O'Kelly Harvey, daughter of Andrew O'Kelly's cousin, and it then passed to Charles Langdale of Houghton through his marriage with Henrietta Grattan, daughter of Mary O'Kelly Harvey (Grattan). From Mr. Langdale it was bought by the Sherwoods, in whose possession it now is, so that the tradition of racehorse-training, natural to that spot and to its surroundings, is preserved there still.

There are a few records of O'Kelly's tenancy of sufficient interest to reproduce here before I pass on. In 1804, for instance, Col. O'Kelly's bill to Mr. Edmund Bond of Epsom contains :

June 10.	To a Purge to a Colt.	2	6
	To four shoes	2	8
	To Ball for y ^e Colt	2	0
	To bleeding a colt and a Ball	3	0
	To dressing a colt's leg & medicine	3	0
	To bleeding a colt	1	0
	To docking the Colt	2	6

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It is not improbable that this is the same Mr. Edmund Bond mentioned in earlier pages, who attended the sale of Dennis's horses at Tattersall's, and was given the skeleton of *Eclipse* after its dissection by Saint Bel.

Two bills from the Cannons Estate memoranda will also find an appropriate place here :

I

The bill of Thomas Colley, blacksmith, of Stanmore, from January 1804 to the end of June, came to £13 14s.⁷*d.*, and includes the following items :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4 shoes	3	0
A new eye to large bell-handle	0	6
A new Iron Crow, weight 7lbs.	3	9
4 shoes chaise horse	3	4
Paring Teetotum's feet	0	6
D ^o colt by Dungannon	0	6
To shoes to d ^o	1	6
Paring 5 colts' and fillies' feet	2	6
D ^o squirrel mare	0	6

II

1807. Col. O'Kelly's bill to Thos Colley, Blacksmith at Edgware, contains the following items (1807)

4 shoes	3	4
2 barred shoes for carthorse	4	0
2 shoes for grey Poney	1	8
Colts' feet pared down	0	6
5 shoes carthorses	4	2

An interesting link between these bills for horses and accounts for other forms of expenditure is the memorandum rendered to "O'Kelly Junior Esq.," at Cannons, by "Mr. Garrard" in July 1792. The artist charges £31 5s. 6*d.* for the painting of *Soldier*, including a frame and packing case. An engraving from this portrait of *Eclipse's* son is

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

reproduced with these pages. In the matter of the prices charged by eighteenth century artists, Mr. R. W. Goulding has kindly written to me from the Library at Welbeck to say that Wootton's price for the painting of *Leeds* in that collection was 12 guineas. The same artist painted *Bonny Black* and the *Bloody-shouldered Arabian* (who was sent from Aleppo by Nathaniel Harley) for Lord Oxford, an ancestor of the present Duke of Portland in the female line. I may add, as an interesting detail of an artist's connection with the Turf, that George Morland describes, in a letter to his friend Dawes, how he once rode in a regular race. . . "Then the drums beat and we started; it was a four-mile heat. . ." I do not remember having seen elsewhere that a drum was used for this purpose.

In 1811 Messrs. Love & Co., goldsmiths and jewellers, of 6 Old Bond Street, who rejoice in a beautifully engraved bill-head, sent in to Andrew O'Kelly an account, "delivered by the desire of Lady Pomfret," of £25 for a bracelet. Whether the name of the firm suggests romantic imaginations I know not; but on looking up the leases of Cannons for the same year I find that Lady Pomfret rented the mansion and grounds from Andrew in 1811 for £525; and in December 1814 Messrs. Love write again to O'Kelly regretting that "they cannot give the Colonel the information he wishes respecting the bracelet Lady Pomfret sold at their house." Less romantic is the "gold screw ring" bought from William Harris, optical manufacturer, of 50 High Holborn, in 1819; and to return to entirely practical matters I will add the Colonel's boot bill in 1817.

To George Hoby. Boot and Shoemaker to H.R.H. the Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, Sussex & Cambridge the Princess Charlotte and H.S.H. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg

Mar. 9,	2 Pr shoes	. . . . .	£1	13
13,	2 Pr Overalls	. . . . .	5	8
25,	1 Pr Overalls footed	. . . . .	1	7
				£8
				8

ANDREW O'KELLY

It will no doubt completely and finally counteract the mystery of the bracelet if I complete this list of Colonel O'Kelly's little purchases with the record that on June 15, 1818, he bought one copy of "True Piety," bound in morocco, for 8s. 8d. from H. FitzPatrick, Bookseller to the Roman Catholic College in Maynooth, at 4 Capel Street, Dublin.

In 1801 there occurs a pleasant bit of evidence of the park at Cannons and O'Kelly's friendship with the Prince, which I found in a letter sent to the equerry that year :

SIR

I have endeavoured to select some venison out of my park at Cannons which I hope will prove worthy the Prince's acceptance. I have sent it by this day's coach directed to you and request you will do me the favour to present it with my most respectful duty to His Royal Highness.

A. D. O'KELLY.

This letter was enclosed with another, which shows that Lord Ranelagh and Sir Richard Heron were among Andrew's friends at this time. It runs as follows :

MY DEAR JONES

You are a capital fellow at promising but a bad one at performing when writing is the case, and you must be obviously so when I presume to complain. Are you dead or alive or what is your plea for not giving an account of your journey and of the state in which you found Lady Ranelagh & the rest of the family on your arrival? Have you punctually executed my commission & said everything kind & obliging for me to her ladyship? Have you seen anything of the Sans Culottes and on their appearance are you ready & willing to give them a warm reception? Poor Tom I think is very lucky to have arrived safe though paying most cursedly for his passage. He is just returned from Tunbridge Wells after paying a visit to our friends Sir Richard and Lady Heron who with myself are of opinion that if the correspondence between the late Lord Ranelagh and the Irish government on the subject of Athlone is followed up it may procure him some advantage which I am certain the poor fellow in his present situation stands much in need of

Believe me ever yours

1801.

A. D. O'KELLY.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

That the squire of Cannons did his duty by the neighbouring Hunt is also clear from a letter dated May 1808, in which W. Capel thanks him "for the attentive message you sent me about some young foxes the other day." He was a churchwarden, too, as appears from some correspondence in 1804:

WHITCHURCH : 20 *July* 1804

To COL. O'KELLY, Cannons.

DEAR SIR

Knowing that you wish to do your duty as churchwarden, I take the liberty as Minister to trouble you from time to time with such observations as occur to me on our joint duties.

As churchwarden and minister, we are trustees for all the charities and gifts belonging to this Parish by Deed or Will or otherwise and therefore bound in conscience to see as far as may be all the Donations duly applied. I think it therefore our duty to apply to the Lord Chancellor to have his directions with regard to the Church Plate, Schoolhouse, &c. I suppose one petition would comprehend all the questions we apprehend to be our duty to ascertain.

I remain with the greatest respect

Dear Sir

Your ever obliged servant

HENRY POOLE.

But I fear his relations with the parochial authorities of Whitchurch, or Stanmore Parva, did not always evoke such polished correspondence. In 1811 he roused the churchwarden for the time being to the following epistle:

To A. D. O'KELLY, 4 [? 8] Charles St. Manchester Sq^{re}.

EDGEWARE: Dec. 11, 1811

SIR

If your Church Rates are not settled immediately the Vestry insists upon your being cited next week. The Vestry Clerk apprised you of the orders.

I remain your obedient servant

JOHN RODBARD

Churchwarden

Little Stanmore.

ANDREW O'KELLY

A trace of the Colonel's well-known charity (in which he remembered his uncle's example) is to be found in the Countess of Loudoun's letter to him in June 1812, when he was still in Charles Street. Lady Loudoun refers to his interest in the "St. Patrick Charity," and asks his help to send a Scotchwoman, married to an Irishman, back to her Irish home.

The next batch of seven letters I have selected are all in the same year, and refer in turn to H.R.H. Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, to Lord Moira and Lord Donoughmore; and are evidently connected with certain social engagements inspired by the contemporary political situation in Ireland. The "Mr. Harvey" referred to would be Philip Whitfield Harvey, O'Kelly's cousin, and proprietor of *Freeman's Journal*.

I

To COL. O'KELLY.

Endorsed :—Lord Donoughmore respecting the Duke of Sussex, April 3, 1812.

I was delighted with your Royal friend, and heard with admiration the generous & the just feelings of a most enlightened mind. He writes with elegance & force & has got into entire possession of all the details as well as of all the fortes and the foibles of a most difficult and multifarious subject.

D.

II

Lord Donoughmore writes to Col. O'Kelly in Charles Street, April 1812, returning Mr. Harvey's letter: "respecting the very respectable paper of which he is the proprietor. I was perfectly persuaded that the publication to which he refers was inserted either thro' inadvertency or thro' some momentary accident, not within Mr. Harvey's power to control, and I am very sensible of the kindness of the explanation into which he has taken the trouble to enter.

Truly yours
DONOUGHMORE."

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

III

To Colonel the R^t. Hon. JOHN MCMAHON.

April 26, 1812.

CHARLES STREET

MY DEAR MCMAHON

You will excuse my suggesting to you an idea that strikes me respecting the Article which appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 20th inst. Its length creates a difficulty in respect to my procuring for it, as I have done for others on the same subject, an insertion in some of the London papers, but perhaps that difficulty might be overcome by a whisper in the ear of Dr. Dudley from yourself or some other person of influence with him, and if an arrangement or understanding to that effect, could take place with any other paper or papers beside the *Morning Herald*, I will make it my particular task to select the proper articles as they appear and forward them to such paper or papers here as may be appointed to receive, and will, under such influence, give insertion to them.

Ever most truly and cordially yours

A. D. O'KELLY.

IV

From H.R.H. the DUKE OF SUSSEX.

May 1812.

DEAR O'KELLY

If you can get me a box at the Pantheon and let me have it soon this morning you would oblige me greatly.

Truly yours

S.

V

To Col. the R^t. Hon. JOHN MCMAHON.

25 June 1812

CHARLES STREET

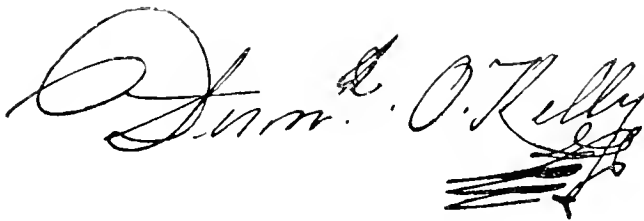
MY DEAR MCMAHON

Lest you should not have seen the *Freeman's Journal* which contains the vindication of our noble friend, I enclose it for your perusal, and should be highly gratified to forward to the same source of communication a genuine copy of his Lordship's speech in the House of Lords which Parry [?] is said to have given incorrectly. It would be no

Dear O'Kelly
If you can get me a Son for
The Pantheon, and let me
have it soon this morning
You would Oblige me
greatly truly Yours



LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF SUSSEX TO ANDREW O'KELLY



SIGNATURE OF DENNIS O'KELLY

ANDREW O'KELLY

breach of privilege there, and is certainly a great desideratum as the most effectual means of setting them right in that country, where obvious misconceptions have converted the most enthusiastic friends into bitter enemies. I hope it may be procured and that no ordinary obstacle to so great a good will prevent its being effected. Our friend Sheridan you will see does not occupy the same disadvantageous ground with the leaders on the other side of the water, but he assures me he will himself for their more correct comprehension pen a clear statement of his case ; which, if accompanied by Lord Moira's speech, would do infinite good to the cause.

I am ever & faithfully yours

A. D. O'KELLY.

VI

A. D. O'KELLY to LORD MOIRA.

July 31, 1812

CHARLES ST.

MANCHESTER SQUARE.

MY DEAR LORD

In the event of your Lordship's not having returned to Town, which I find by enquiring this morning in St. James's Place to be the case, I have undertaken at the request of the Committee of the Knights Templars to communicate their united hope of being honoured with your Lordship's presence to meet H.R.H. the Duke of Kent who will preside at the installation of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master of the Order. At the same time the Deputy Grand Master will be appointed, and the Grand Conclave will assemble for these purposes at the Freemasons Tavern on Thursday next the 6th August at 4 o'clock precisely.

The great anxiety of the Committee to give to the ceremony all possible interest, and the impossibility of filling up in any way to their satisfaction the blank which your lordship's absence would occasion, is the apology for this intrusion on the part of my Dear Lord

Your Lordship's faithful

and devoted humble servant

A. D. O'KELLY.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

VII

To LORD MOIRA

15 *Sept.* 1812

8 CHARLES STREET

MY DEAR LORD

I am commanded by the Duke of Sussex to acquaint your lordship with His Royal Highness's intention of being with you at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. H.R.H. purposes to get out of his carriage at the Green Park door in Piccadilly and to present himself for admission at your Lordship's garden gate.

I have the honor to be my dear Lord

Your faithful and devoted servant

A. D. O'KELLY.

Two years afterwards I find the Duke of Sussex is referred to again in a letter from John Michell, who acted as O'Kelly's private secretary to him in town, and is now writing to give the news of London when Andrew is staying in Dublin with his cousin Harvey.

From your own house.

Nov. 4th. Evening.

MY DEAR COLONEL

I came here yesterday expecting certainly to find a letter from dear Dublin and much am I disappointed. Surely our good friend Harvey will act as your Secretary "*me absente; me nunquam de te et tuis immemore,*" and relieve my anxiety.

I have seen Mr. Bourkhardt. The Dra^t. of H.R.H the Duke of Sussex is paid, and all is well as to this business. Two letters from Mr Wright, the latter from Algesira, directs the amount to be paid to Herries & Co. on his account and this was punctually performed to-day by Mr Bourkhardt. Mr Wright entreats you to present his grateful thanks to his Royal Benefactor for this instance of his liberality. Perhaps you will do this by letter to H.R.H.

Bonnor will write to you, and the contents of his letter will make you accord with our Holy Psalmist not to put any Trust in Princes, I shall forbear any other remark upon the subject than to add that you have censured my worthy James Stuart, and deserve to be deceived by the usurping power, which possesses his throne. Here you may indict me for treason. I am "*saepe pro Republica, semper pro Rege.*"



CANNONS, EDGEWARE
The residue of Colonel O'Kelly



CANNONS, EDGEWARE
Window near which the remains of Eclipse were buried

ANDREW O'KELLY

Y^r household are all well, and your house as fine as a fiddle, beautifully painted and in order. Robert gives me a sorry description of your Epsom Issues, but he has secured 14 Load of hay, worth probably from 70 to 100 £. It appears that you are unjustly treated there as well as elsewhere, and that you suffer trespasses with impunity.

To-morrow I shall have something more to say. Robert wants to know whether the horse is to be taken up. I say no until your further orders, for he now costs 8s. per week only. I have delivered the Tabinet at Mrs Tagart's who is with the Doctor in the country—Hae nugae sunt !

To more serious business.

I called with Clarke on Trower to-day, who is entitled to Execution—and this would have issued on Monday but for my representation that the Marquis of D. was coming to Town, and that I would find out Macartney. Mr Trower is determined to proceed to extremities unless the arrears of the Annuity 1500 and upwards are discharged. Pray, my dear Colonel, write to me by return of post, directed to Rosehill and tell me what is to be done. I was compelled to state that you expected a sum from the Marquis and that I knew it was your Intention to provide for the payment, if Lord D. could not pay it or secure it. Trower wants me to pledge myself that the arrears shall be paid out of the money you expect to receive—if not, after waiting for your Answer, and that Answer not satisfactory, he will issue Execution. I will be prepared for that. I shall receive about 250£ for Concannon, which I shall not be drawn upon for for some weeks. I moreover expect 200£ from Sir G. Bowyer, and if Trower will not be persuaded to wait, I can so settle with him as to pay the amount of anything seizable here. If necessary I will be in London again the moment I have your letter, and will do anything and everything you wish. Let not this make you uneasy. Here I am and here I shall be to ward off the blow.

The Bonnars desire their Love. The Bourkhardts are as well as can be reasonably desired.

I cannot say more than to add my grateful regards to Mr and Mrs H., Miss Mary—Miss O'Kelly—and to assure you that I am ever

Most sincerely and affectionately yr^s

J^o. C. MICHELL.

L^t. Col. O'Kelly,

P. W. Harvey Esq.

72 Stephen's Green South

Dublin.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

I have said before that neither Colonel Dennis O'Kelly, nor his heir and nephew, Andrew, had any children who survived them. But we know that Andrew was married, and in October 1805 I find the first trace of his son Charles in a bill delivered to him by Messrs Gurney & Coakley, which charges :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To two months' schooling to Master Charles	14	0
To a copybook		6
		<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
	14	6

The disproportion in price between the two items is astonishing; but in twelve years' time "Master Charles" evidently grew up intelligent enough. He writes to his father as follows :—

LONDON, *Oct. 13th*, 1817.

MY DEAR FATHER

On Saturday last I received your kind letter of the 8th inst^t and went immediately to Mr Michell, to whom I communicated the contents of your epistle. He says that he called on Mr Noble, told him you were out of Town, and requested that he w^d consent to withhold his demands till your return, to which Mr Noble assented. The reason of his acting in this manner was on account of Mr Noble refusing part of the Rents of the houses in Piccadilly and demanding to have Mr Miller's with the rest.

A few days ago Mr Michell went down to Grovenor Place and discovered that Walton the broker was in the act of taking away all the furniture and yours with the rest; but he told Walton on his peril to touch that part of the property which he claimed as yours and the consequence was that the cart was unloaded, but Mr Mahoney took good care that the furniture belonging to you was locked up again in the stables since this Walton has taken away without our privacy or knowledge all your furniture and removed every article of furniture out of the house even the [—————] grates, &c &c. But Mr Mahoney says that Walton has only removed them, not taken them away for the purpose of sale.

This fellow W. Stacpoole and his posse are making the most active preparations to annoy you in every possible way, and W. Stacpoole says he will bring an action against you and he has no doubt but that

ANDREW O'KELLY

he will be able to saddle you with all the Taxes and Rent of the house since Mr Stacpoole left England ; moreover, that you shall account for every individual article that has been removed and sold either publicly or by private contract. Thomas says you permitted Misses H. & S. to remove some things and when called upon to make an affidavit as no doubt he will be called upon, he must state this and *give a satisfactory account of the things which he does not deny having taken. Mark the villain.*

What I have just now told you respecting the language of W. Stacpoole is nearly as he said it from his own mouth. The following is also : "That you drove Mr Stacpoole out of the Country at a time when his mind was so distressed that he was ignorant whether he was doing right or wrong, and that George Stacpoole himself said in Paris you frightened him on the road with 'here they are,' 'the bailiffs are coming, the bailiffs are coming,' and so on, till you accomplished your purpose."

Mr Armstrong has been here and wished to know if you were ready to go to Ireland. I questioned him respecting the money to which he replied, "Oh ! that's all settled ; your Father knows that we shall do nothing till we go to Ireland."

There have been two letters of introduction presented by Mr R. Dyce from Mr Bonnor, who informs you in his letter that Ann Gillis is going to India to be married to some Gentleman of considerable fortune there.

A letter from Mr Dod concerning Mr Dobson the paperhanger has been sent here requesting you will pay the balance of Mr Dobson's bill.

The expences attending my scholarship are enormous and they wd not receive the whole of the Money because eight £ and 13 shillings was wanting to make up the amount of the last bill. £28 will scarcely cover my expences and this I must pay before I go to College. I have received a letter from Dr Geldart.

Pray write immediately with your instructions which shall be instantly executed and the result made known to you by,

My Dear Father,

Your most affectionate & dutiful son,

C. O'KELLY.

[Charles Andrew O'Kelly.]

P.S. Mahoney says young Stacpoole is in England and taking steps against us all under the authority of his father. The Daily prints report that Miss Hawke, whom they say arrived with you at Paris, is about to marry *Sir G. P. Turner.*

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Poor Mr Curran is I fear by this time no more ; he has been seized twice since he returned from Ireland with paralytic strokes ; the first time he was not seriously affected, but he exacted a promise from his servant to conceal his having been attacked so that it would appear he wished to die ; not the slightest hopes are entertained of his recovery.

Hotel de la Belgique,
Rue St. Thomas du Louvre.
To Lt. Col. O'Kelly.
at Paris.

The writer of this letter must have died in the course of the next three years, for his father Andrew was dead before the end of 1822. His affection for the two children who were doomed to predecease him is very touchingly displayed in the draft of his will, which he drew up in Charles Street on April 15, 1812. He made the following depositions :—

1. All his property was to be sold, and after payment of his just debts, the residue to be invested in Government stock and accumulate

until my son Charles O'Kelly now living with me and my daughter Eliza O'Kelly now at Sion House Boarding School shall attain the age of twentyone years at which period my son Charles O'Kelly shall be entitled to two thirds of the said property and my daughter Eliza O'Kelly to one third for their sole use and benefit after deducting the expense of their education which I most earnestly request my executors will strictly attend to as if they were their own.

2. His large diamond ring to “ my dearest cousin Philip Whitfield Harvey ” for his life, and at his death to “ my son Charles O'Kelly,” or to be an heirloom in the family.

3. “ The next largest Diamond ring with hair round it ” for Philip Whitfield Harvey for his sole use.

4. The “ hair bracelet with a brilliant diamond clasp ” to “ his dear little daughter Mary O'Kelly Harvey.”

5. Mourning rings of £10 to “ my most amiable and excellent friends ” the Hon. Miss Annabella Hawke and Miss Charlotte Stacpoole.

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6. "To Master Richard Stacpoole, son of my friend George Stacpoole, of Grosvenor Place, and the friend and associate of my son Charles O'Kelly," he left the "horse chaise and harness I now drive . . . and may the friendship that at present exists between him and my son Charles (whose mild and gentlemanly conduct and religious principals I hope has been of service to him) never cease but with their lives."

7. Gold watch and seals to his son Charles, his residuary legatee.

8. Philip Whitfield Harvey his sole executor and guardian of his children.

Only one or two names in the above document need explanation. "The Hon. Annabella Hawke" was a granddaughter of the Admiral, and applied to the Queen for a position about the Court in a memorial which Andrew drew up for her in December 1813. Of the Stacpooles I find another trace in the purchase (in August 1819) of "1 dozen cider at 12s." from William Clark, the Cider Cellars, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden.

Andrew's cousin, Philip Whitfield Harvey, the son of Mary O'Kelly, was a distinguished literary man in Dublin, who married Miss Frances Tracy, "by which I understand," writes a friend of the family in 1820, "he becomes possessed of £30,000 and £500 a year, besides other good things. This seems a wise and prudent step for both parties."

Harvey wrote from Ireland in August 1819 to O'Kelly, in Half Moon Street, saying:—

that "Lord Donegal is in great distress for even one hundred pounds. Lady D., *that was*, is determined to proceed to London immediately without a guinea or even a carriage. She will not allow her noble spouse to quit her apron strings, fearing that he might tye himself to some more deserving object."

Harvey was leaving Ireland, for the South of France for his health, by sea from Dublin to Bordeaux, in the follow-

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

ing winter; and in 1820 he describes his return from France on March 16, 1820:

“I left Paris on Wednesday at 4.20 and reached Calais on Friday morning at 5.20, sailed at 11 o'clock and arrived at Dover by seven. On Saturday at 6 in the morning started for London & reached the Golden Cross, Charing Cross at 6 that evening.” He then went by mail through Shrewsbury to Holyhead and so sailed to Dublin.

On March 13 the same excellent correspondent had informed O'Kelly (who was at the Grand Hotel Taranne in Paris) that his friend Concannon had got into Parliament for Winchelsea, and that “Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse will be returned for Westminster.” Almost his last communication is an expression of horror at the discovery that his annual expenditure, “including the paper,” amounted to £5360, “a frightful sum.”

But it was well spent, as may be seen from the obituary notice written after his death on August 10, 1826, in the *Dublin Morning Register*, by Mr. Michael Staunton, a copy of which was preserved by Harvey's daughter, Mary O'Kelly Grattan. From this it appears that Philip Whitfield Harvey was descended from a family whose large possessions in Wicklow were forfeited at the Revolution of 1688. He was given a commission in the army in 1794, in a regiment commanded

by his cousin-german, the late Colonel [A.D.] O'Kelly of Half Moon Street London. Colonel O'Kelly was honoured with the friendship of his present Majesty and other branches of the Royal family, and under his auspices Mr. Harvey was introduced to the brilliant circle of Carlton, Palace and had formed one of the suite of the Prince upon several public occasions. He settled in Ireland early in 1804 & shortly afterwards commenced the regeneration of *Freeman's Journal*, originally established forty years before that time by the celebrated Dr. Lucas. . . . His enterprise led him to print the first twenty-column sheet that was ever used in the diurnal Press in 1805,

and he resisted every bribe the Government offered to undermine his independent criticism. He left a handsome

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fortune to his only daughter, Mary O'Kelly Harvey, who married Henry Grattan, M.P.

The facts here given about the commission tally very well with the date of January 25, 1793, which was shown elsewhere to be the time when Andrew O'Kelly bought his Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the Westminster Regiment ; and it was therefore in this corps that his cousin Harvey served.

The mention of Harvey supplies my best opportunity for finishing the history of the O'Kelly family in its various ramifications, which will be clearer from a consideration of the genealogical table in my Appendix. I have already shown how the great Henry Grattan came into it, and no doubt he remained its most distinguished member. Few better descriptions of him have been given than the lines written by Lord Carlisle, ten years after he had been buried in Westminster Abbey, on the passing of the Emancipation Bill, on April 13, 1829. I transcribe a copy preserved among the O'Kelly papers :

A step more buoyant, a more sparkling eye
Arrest the gaze as Grattan passes by.
Greet him, thou lovely Isle, from whom he brought
The fervid gesture, the impassioned thought,
The mind serenely brave and simply wise,
Rich as thy soil and tender as thy skies.
Thine was his evening task, his morning theme,
His patient labour and his gorgeous dream

. . .

Thine when aloft his lion spirit rose,
Mid the full conclave of his country's foes,
Tore from detected fraud the flimsy veil
And bade corruption's palsied legions quail.
Oh that he might on this bright-omened day
Bask in the promise of its dawning ray,
And bless the younger hands that now restore
To Ireland all that he once gave before !

The Henry Grattan thus so finely described was the son of J. Grattan, M.P. (Recorder of Dublin), and Mary Marlay, daughter of Thomas Marlay, Chief Justice of Ireland.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Dean Marlay, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, was the owner of Celbridge Abbey, which in his time was called Marlay Abbey, and he married into the Grattan family. Henry Grattan, second son of the patriot, inherited property in Queen's County, which had been voted to his famous father as a gift by the Irish Parliament in 1782. He was buried at Celbridge Abbey, and he lived there with his wife, Mary O'Kelly Harvey, until the marriage of his eldest daughter, Henrietta, to Charles Langdale, when he gave the place to the young married couple. They resided there until Mr. Langdale's father died, when they moved to Houghton, in Yorkshire, to which Charles Langdale succeeded. Mrs. Langdale then appointed Sir Gerald Dease, youngest brother of Edmond Dease, who married her sister Mary, as her agent for the Irish property, and let him the abbey for his life, with the pictures of *Eclipse*, *Marske* and *Spiletta*, and the old French furniture from Cannons, which Mary O'Kelly Harvey had brought to her husband's home. This Sir Gerald Dease married the sister of Sir William Throckmorton, and at his death the abbey passed to the Langdales again, and Lady Dease lived close by. I have already mentioned that when Lady Charles Bunbury (*née* Lady Sarah Lennox) was divorced, and wished, before her marriage with Napier, to reside near her sister, Lady Louisa Conolly, of Castletown, and the Duchess of Leinster, she built Oakley Park, opposite Celbridge Abbey, on the other side of the road; and I need only add that it was from the sons of Henrietta and Louisa, daughters of the Henry Grattan who married Mary O'Kelly Harvey, that I have received those portions, respectively, of the O'Kelly papers which have furnished so many data for this work.

The details with regard to the Cannons Estate, which Dennis O'Kelly bequeathed to his nephew, I have placed in the Appendix, and they will be found to contain several interesting facts concerning prices at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the value of property, and the domestic appurtenances considered necessary for the comfort and convenience of a gentleman's country house. In the Appendix

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will also be found Andrew O'Kelly's vivid description of the burial of Nelson, together with the diary of a few days in his London life at the beginning of 1806.

I have now traced the O'Kelly family and their possessions down to the present time. My task will be ended with the briefest sketch of those descendants of *Eclipse* which have chiefly influenced the Modern Turf.

CHAPTER IX

ECLIPSE'S DESCENDANTS

Corona senum filii filiorum et gloria filiorum patres eorum

Pot8os—Spearmint—Troutbeck—Touchstone—Flying Fox—King Fergus—Blacklock—Donovan—Emma—Lily Agnes—Matchem—Record Times—Record Performances—Conclusion.

OF all *Eclipse's* sons *Pot8os* seems to me the best looking. He combined some very rare qualities, for he was not only handsome, but a good winner (thirty-five out of forty-six races from 1776 to 1783) over a distance of ground, and a most successful sire, for he begot 165 winners of £57,595, the best of whom was *Waxy*.

Pot8os was a chestnut with a white snip on his face, bred by Lord Abingdon in 1773, out of *Sportsmistress*, who traced back to the *Ancaster Turk*. By the kindness of Mr. G. H. Parsons, who discovered the original painting by Sartorius, now in the possession of Mr. R. C. Blencoe, I am able to reproduce here the only portrait I have ever seen of *Waxy*, the best son of *Pot8os*, and also a photograph of one of *Waxy's* racing prizes, which contains on its central medallion a reproduction of the match between *Gimcrack* and *Bay Malton* (1769), portrayed in my fourth chapter.

Waxy was a bay son of *Maria* (by *Herod*), foaled in 1790. Out of the Duke of Grafton's famous mare *Prunella* (by *Highflyer*) he got *Waxy Pope*, *Pledge* (dam of *Tiresias*) and *Pope Joan*; and out of *Prunella's* still more celebrated daughter *Penelope* (by *Trumpeter*) he got *Whalebone* (1807),



WAVY BY POTSDOM BY ECLIPSE

From the original painting by Sartorius discovered by Mr. G. H. Parsons in Alsager, and now in the possession of R. C. Bloxcomb, Esq.

ECLIPSE'S DESCENDANTS

Web (1808), *Woful* and *Whisker* (1812). *Whalebone* was sire of two Derby winners in *Lapdog* and *Spaniel*, and an Oaks winner in *Caroline*. His line is handed down by *Camel*, *Defence* and *Sir Hercules*, and *Camel* was the sire of *Touchstone*. This brings me at once to last year's (1906) Derby winner, *Spear-mint*, who is by *Carbine*, by *Musket*, by *Toxophilite*, by *Longbow*, by *Ithuriel*, by *Touchstone*, by *Camel*, by *Whalebone*, by *Waxy*, by *Pot8os*, by *Eclipse*; and the interest of this descent lies in the fact that the *Touchstone* blood has hitherto been most successful through *Newminster* by way of *Hermit* and *Lord Clifden*; but a striking change has been effected by the Duke of Portland's importation of *Carbine*, who thus reaches the height of his stud fame in his twenty-first year. *Carbine* is unquestionably the most popular horse that ever ran on the Australian Turf, and was brought over here by the Duke in 1895. He was bred in New Zealand, and carried 10 st. 5 lb. when he won the Melbourne Cup in a field of thirty-nine. His sire *Musket*, who was never appreciated in England at the stud, did well on the limestone of Australasia; and, as I have pointed out in my earliest chapters, it is possible that his visit to those far-off pastures benefited his son *Carbine* to the extent necessary not merely to win races in Australia but also to sire a Derby winner in England. It may almost be said that *Carbine's* importation introduced a new line of *Eclipse* blood; for *Ithuriel's* descendants had nearly vanished, and *Petronel* was never really successful at the stud.

Those who are more interested in mares than sires will also remember that, as Mr. Corlett has pointed out, *Spear-mint* is full of *Pocahontas* blood; for *Minting*, sire of *Maid of the Mint*, is grandson of *Stockwell*, a son of *Pocahontas*; and *Warble*, dam of *Maid of the Mint*, is by *Skylark*, a grandson of *Pocahontas*, and her dam also was by a grandson of *Pocahontas*.

Curiously enough, it is to *Touchstone* also that the St. Leger winner of 1906 traces back, for the Duke of Westminster's *Troutbeck* is the first living foal of *Rydal Mount*, and happily combines the blood of *Hampton*, *Rosicrucian*,

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St. Simon and *Bend Or*; and he adds yet further to the established fame of the great *Agnes* family, for his dam is by *St. Serf*, out of *Rydal* by *Bend Or*, out of *Windermere*, by *Macaroni* out of *Miss Agnes* by *Birdcatcher*. *Troutbeck's* sire was *Ladas*, and he won his Leger just seventy-two years after the great ancestor whose skeleton is kept in honour at the Eaton Stud.

Touchstone never began well, but his immense speed soon brought him up, and he could stay for ever. Three of his sons, *Orlando*, *Cotherstone* and *Surplice*, won the Derby; three of his grandsons, *Teddington*, *Musjid* and *Hermit*; and seven of his great-grandsons, *Pretender*, *Shotover*, *St. Blaise*, *George Frederick*, *Merry Hampton*, *Ayrshire* and *Ladas*. This is a record which justifies indeed the old description of his blood as "the touchstone of merit"; and it must be remembered also that in 1880 that extraordinary mare *Kincsem* (who was by *Cambuscan*, by *Newminster*, by *Touchstone*) was sent to the stud after running in fifty-four races in four years, over every kind of ground, in every weather, at any distance, and was never beaten.

I mentioned that *Camel*, *Defence* and *Sir Hercules* had chiefly handed on *Whalebone's* blood. *Camel*, as we have seen, would be justified by *Touchstone* alone. *Defence* was sire of *The Emperor*, who begat *Monarque*, who begat *Gladiateur* from a daughter of *Gladiator* by *Partisan*. *Sir Hercules* has perhaps been the most famous of the three, for his line continues to *Irish Birdcatcher*, *The Baron* and *Stockwell*, in direct male descent to *Doncaster*, *Bend Or*, *Ormonde*, *Orme* and *Flying Fox*, for whom M. Edmund Blanc gave the record price of £39,375; one of the most brilliant pedigrees on the English Turf. In it occurs the famous name of *Stockwell*, a chestnut descendant of *Eclipse*, with the old white snip on his face, and two white feet. He was a son of the celebrated mare *Pocahontas*, and was the sire of *Blair Athol* and *Achievement*, besides such good ones as *Regalia*, *Lord Lyon*, *Doncaster*, *Caller Ou* and many more, who won the Derby three times, the Oaks once, and no less than six St. Legers. Nor must I forget to add



TOUCHSTONE (1831-1860)

From the painting by J. F. Heving in the possession of the Duke of Westminster at Luton

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that *Irish Birdcatcher* further strengthened this line through his son *Oxford*, who begat *Sterling*, who begat *Isonomy*, the sire of *Isinglass*, winner of the "Triple Crown" of 1893, and of more money than any horse except *Donovan*.

After *Pot8os* I must turn to another chestnut son of *Eclipse*, *King Fergus*, bred from *Creeping Polly* (by *Othello*) in 1775. One of his sons was *Beningbrough* (St. Leger, 1794) the sire of *Orville*, who was grandsire of the Derby winners *Cadland* and *Little Wonder*, and sire of a still better Derby winner in *Emilius* (brother of the equally successful *Octavius*). Two sons of *Emilius*, *Priam* and *Plenipotentiary*, were Derby winners again, and three daughters of *Priam* won the Oaks, among them being the speedy *Crucifix*.

Another of the sons of *King Fergus* was the mighty *Hambletonian*, out of a *Highflyer* mare, who won the Leger of 1795. From him, through *Whitelock*, came *Blacklock* (his dam by *Coriander*, a son of *Pot8os*) who had *Eclipse's* ugly head and transmitted all *Eclipse's* excellence to *Galopin*, sire of *St. Simon*, sire of the King's celebrated stallion *Persimmon*, sire of *Sceptre*, *Zinfandel* and *Keystone II.*, who, at the age of thirteen, stood at the head of the winning list of 1906, with the 16 winners he had produced in 31 races worth £21,752. *St. Simon*, whose prowess at the stud I have already mentioned, stands alone with *Stockwell* as a sire, and among his sons and grandsons are such Derby winners as *Persimmon*, *Diamond Jubilee*, *Volodyovski*, *Ard Patrick* and *St. Amant*, to whom may be added *Rock Sand*, produced by his beautiful daughter *Roquebrune*. His granddaughter *Sceptre* fetched the record price of 10,000 guineas as a yearling. To *Blacklock* also, through *Voltaire*, *Voltigeur*, *Vedette* and *Galopin*, in direct line traces the Duke of Portland's *Donovan* (1886), whose dam was *Mowerina*, granddaughter of *Stockwell* on the dam's side and great-granddaughter of *Touchstone* through her sire.

Donovan, who died in 1905, won more money in stakes than any horse in the history of the Turf, and did it in

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only two years, so I give the list of his victories, which have been very kindly sent me by the Duke of Portland.

<i>Season.</i>	<i>Races won.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
		<i>£ s. d.</i>	
1888.	Lincoln, Brocklesby Stakes .	1034 15 0	
	Leicester, Portland Stakes .	6000 0 0	
	Ascot, New Stakes	1169 0 0	
	Bisbury Club, Home-bred Foal Stakes	475 0 0	
	Stockbridge, Hurstbourne Stakes	1250 0 0	
	Newmarket, July Stakes . .	1120 0 0	
	Goodwood, Ham Stakes . .	700 0 0	
	Newmarket, Buckenham Stakes	900 0 0	
	Do. Hopeful Stakes . . .	537 0 0	
	Do. Middle Park Plate . .	2105 0 0	
	Do. Dewhurst Plate . . .	1197 0 0	16487 15 0
1889.	Leicester, Prince of Wales' Stakes	11000 0 0	
	Newmarket Stakes	6000 0 0	
	Epsom, Derby Stakes . . .	4050 0 0	
	Ascot, Prince of Wales' Stakes	2225 0 0	
	Doncaster, St. Leger Stakes .	4800 0 0	
	Manchester, Lancashire Plate .	10131 15 0	
	Newmarket, Royal Stakes . .	460 0 0	38666 15 0
	Total winnings		£55154 10 0

The strength and excellence of *Eclipse's* blood are particularly observable in three pedigrees: those of *Blacklock* (1814), *Emma* (1824), who was the dam of *Mowerina*, and *Lily Agnes* (1871), who was the dam of *Ormonde*. Taking the first, we find that both the sire and dam of *Blacklock* are descended in direct line from *Eclipse* and are inbred to him, so that though the pedigree shows four strains of both *Eclipse* and *Herod*, it is the former that predominates. *Emma*, like *Blacklock*, is descended on both sides in direct line from *Eclipse*, and this again seems to have been of distinct value, as she has only two strains of *Eclipse*



DONOVAN AT TEN YEARS OLD

From a photograph loaned by the Duke of Portland

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against five of *Herod*. *Lily Agnes*, on the other hand, has nearly fifty strains of *Eclipse*, several of them coming through the same channel, notably *Blacklock*. It would not be too much to say that this was largely the cause of the extraordinary excellence of *Ormonde*, when combined with the fact that his sire was also directly descended from *Eclipse*.

A few more genealogies will be found in the Appendix, bearing on the same point; and I would particularly direct attention to the table which appears there for the first time, and was drawn up for me by the kindness of Mr. A. W. Coaten, of *Horse and Hound*, in order to analyse the descent of all the winners of the Derby from its beginning until 1906. I have mentioned in earlier pages the striking result arrived at, so I need only say here that in the first fifty years *Eclipse* could score 23 winners, in the second fifty he scored 33, and out of the last 27 he can actually claim all except one, Lord Rosebery's *Sir Visto* (winner in 1895) who traces through *Barcaldine* to *Matchem*. It is perhaps worthy of note that with four exceptions all the Derby winners since the race began trace in direct male line to *Eclipse*, *Herod* or *Matchem*; but it is still more noticeable that *Eclipse* alone can claim 82 out of the 122 thus divided, and that he had a struggle at the beginning against *Herod*, which is the most convincing proof of the fittest having survived, for in the first fifty years *Herod* had as many as 20 winners to his 23, but only 15 to his 33 in his second, and none at all afterwards.

The four exceptions I mentioned are in themselves interesting, for *Assassin* traces to *Squirt*, the grandsire of *Eclipse*, and *Sir Thomas* to *Marske*, *Eclipse*'s sire. Only two are the exceptions by which Nature proves her rule, for *Aimwell*, tracing to *Spectator*, and *Hannibal*, tracing to *Trentham*, have never established the lines they represent.

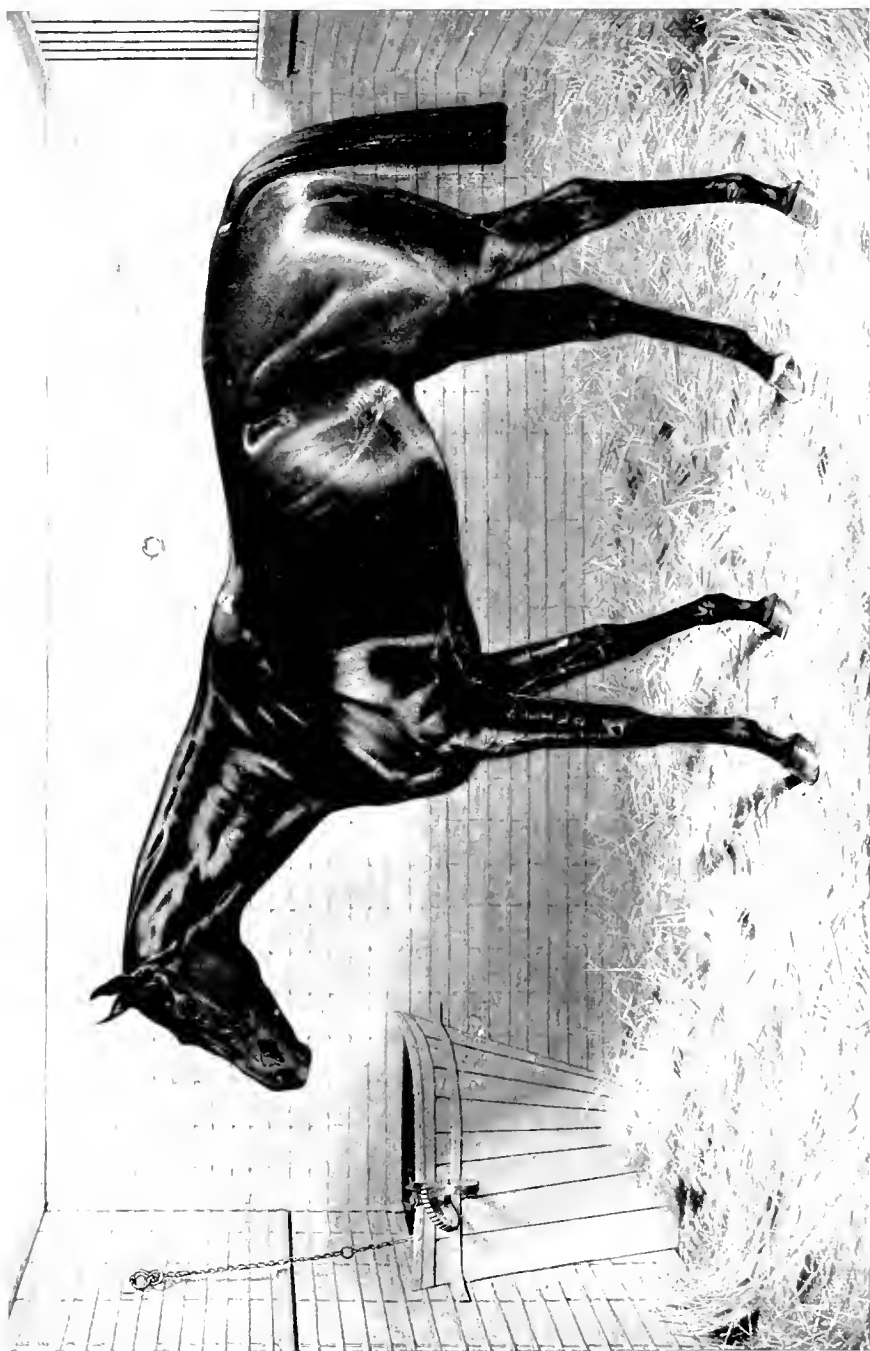
The only winners credited to *Matchem* are *Didelot*, *Smolensko*, *Tiresias*, *West Australian*, *Blink Bonny* and *Sir Visto*; but it is worth noting as a possible sign that

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Matchem is not yet done with, that *Bachelor's Button* has won the Gold Cup at Ascot in record time in 1906. Mr. Coaten has also pointed out that in the field for the Derby of 1906, out of twenty-two runners, eighteen trace to *Eclipse*, including the first four in the race; there were two *Herods*: *Dingwall*, and the colt by *Teufel* out of *Slipaway*; and two *Matchems*: *Beppo* and *Malua*, both sons of *Marco*. In the Oaks all twelve of the mares who ran trace to *Eclipse*.

One more instance of "*Eclipse* first and the rest nowhere" may be taken in the "Triple Crown" winners of the fifty years following *West Australian* in 1853. They are *Gladiateur*, *Lord Lyon*, *Ormonde*, *Common*, *Isinglass*, *Galtee More*, *Flying Fox*, *Diamond Jubilee* and *Rock Sand*. It is no doubt a great test of excellence for any three-year-old to win the Two Thousand, the Derby and the Leger in the same season; and I quote these nine horses because it will be seen that the forty years during which these nine direct descendants of *Eclipse* achieved this feat are exactly the forty years during which the *Eclipse* blood has established itself as the best racing blood in the world.

It will be well to conclude with a word about pace. Comparisons cannot be more accurate than measurements, in this matter, between modern flyers and the cracks of the eighteenth century. But the "mile a minute" legend is definitely exploded, at any rate; and I do not think many more of the "times" recorded in old days are worthy of greater credit. I have read that *Flying Childers* did 3 miles 6 fur. 93 yds. at Newmarket in 6 min. 40 sec., and the Beacon Course in 7 min. 30 sec; that *Filho da Puta* (after falling on his knees and losing fifty yards) did four miles on the Richmond Course in 7 min.; and I do not believe it, even on the authority of a "Clerk of the Course" in the *Sporting Magazine* for 1817. Another gentleman says in the same paper that *Firetail* and *Pumpkin* were timed with all possible correctness and ran a mile at Newmarket in somewhat less than 1 min. 15 sec. This is even more improb-



ORMONDE

From the painting by E. Adam in the possession of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton

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able. What is certain is that ever since timing has been seriously understood and reduced to a fine art, the pace of our racehorses has been shown to be steadily increasing. There is not the least doubt that no eighteenth-century horse could live with them at the distances usually run nowadays, for even with 30 big fences to jump, and carrying the burden of 12 st. 7 lb., *Cloister* did $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in 9 min. $42\frac{2}{5}$ sec. when he won the Grand National of 1893 by forty lengths. The improvement is particularly noticeable in 1906, which produced three records in distances from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles :

1906.	Derby (1 mile 4 fur. 29 yards) <i>Spearmint</i>	.	.	2.36 $\frac{4}{5}$
	Ascot Gold Cup ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) <i>Bachelor's Button</i>	.	.	4.23 $\frac{1}{5}$
	St. Leger (1 mile 6 fur. 132 yards) <i>Troutbeck</i>	.	.	3.4 $\frac{1}{5}$

It should be added that the fastest time ever done over the Derby Course was when *Pretty Polly* won the Coronation Cup in 1905, in 2 min. $33\frac{4}{5}$ sec.

Now this does not look much like degeneration ; and when I add the records for other distances it will be seen that nearly all are quite recent, or within the last decade.

To complete the "classical" races we have :

1905.	Oaks (Derby Course) <i>Cherry Lass</i>	.	.	2.38
1906.	„ „ <i>Keystone II.</i>	.	.	2.38 $\frac{2}{5}$

It should also be added that *Bachelor's Button* only beat *Zinfandel's* time for the Ascot Gold Cup by two-fifths of a second, and that *Zinfandel* holds the record for the longer course of the Alexandra Plate (2 miles 6 fur. 85 yds.) with 5 min. 5 sec., a time which is quite enough alone to disprove the legends of the Beacon Course current in the eighteenth century, for the pace has improved all round in modern horses at a rate of about two seconds in every ten years, a rate which cannot be expected, of course, to continue. I give below the records for various distances in England :

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FIVE FURLONGS.

Apr. 21, 1903.	Great Surrey H'cap, Epsom.	<i>Master Willie</i>	56 $\frac{2}{5}$
May 27, 1903.	Ranmore Plate, Epsom.	<i>Blue Diamond</i>	56 $\frac{2}{5}$
May 29, 1903.	Walton Plate, Epsom.	<i>Le Buff</i>	56 $\frac{2}{5}$

SIX FURLONGS.

June 6, 1901.	Royal Stakes, Epsom.	<i>Master Willie</i>	97 $\frac{1}{5}$
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ONE MILE.

July 13, 1900.	Lingfield Park Stakes.	<i>Caiman</i> (American bred)	1.33 $\frac{1}{5}$
[Straight : first half a fall of 1 in 76 ; second, 1 in 200.]			

ROWLEY MILE, NEWMARKET.

1902.	Two Thousand Guineas.	<i>Sceptre</i>	1.39
1897.	Two Thousand Guineas.	<i>Galtee More</i>	1.40 $\frac{2}{5}$

MILE AND A QUARTER.

Aug. 3, 1904.	Brighton Cup.	<i>Housewife</i>	2.1 $\frac{4}{5}$
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MILE AND A HALF.

June 16, 1905.	Manchester Cup.	<i>Airship</i>	2.30 $\frac{1}{5}$
May 20, 1904.	Chesterfield H'cp., Doncaster.	<i>Roseburn</i>	2.30 $\frac{2}{5}$
Sep. 13, 1900.	Alexandra Plate, Doncaster.	<i>Avidity</i>	2.30 $\frac{4}{5}$
May 27, 1901.	Great Whitsun H'cp., Hurst Park.	<i>Santoi</i>	2.31
Sep. 22, 1900.	Sept. H'cp. Hurst Park.	<i>King's Courier</i>	2.31 $\frac{2}{5}$

MILE AND A HALF AND 29 YARDS.

1905.	Coronation Cup, Epsom.	<i>Pretty Polly</i>	2.33 $\frac{4}{5}$
1906.	Derby, Epsom.	<i>Spearmint</i>	2.36 $\frac{1}{5}$
1905.	Oaks, Epsom.	<i>Cherry Lass</i>	2.38

MILE AND THREE-QUARTERS.

June 7, 1895.	Manchester Cup.	<i>Florizel II.</i>	2.59 $\frac{1}{5}$
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MILE AND THREE-QUARTERS AND 132 YARDS.

1906.	Doncaster St. Leger.	<i>Troutbeck</i>	3.4 $\frac{1}{5}$
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CUP WON BY WAXY AND ENGRAVED WITH THE MATCH
BETWEEN GIMCRACK AND BAY MALTON

From a photograph by Mr. Parsons of Alswere

ECLIPSE'S DESCENDANTS

TWO-MILE STEEPLECHASE.

Mar. 6, 1906. New Century Steeple, Kempton. *Oatlands* 3.54

TWO MILES AND A HALF.

1906.	Ascot Gold Cup.	Bachelor's Button	4.23 $\frac{1}{5}$
1905.	" "	Zinfandel	4.23 $\frac{3}{8}$
1902.	" "	William the Third	4.32

TWO MILES AND THREE-QUARTERS AND 85 YARDS.

1904.	Alexandra Plate, Ascot.	Zinfandel	5.5
1906.	" " "	Hammerkop	5.8 $\frac{2}{5}$
1905.	" " "	Hammerkop	5.12 $\frac{2}{5}$

FOUR MILES AND 856 YARDS.

(Steeplechase over Thirty Fences.)

1906.	Liverpool Grand National.	Ascetic's Silver (10 st. 9)	9.34 $\frac{2}{5}$
1893.	" " "	Cloister (12 st. 7)	9.42 $\frac{2}{5}$

It has therefore been demonstrated, by the details given above, that in the years when *Eclipse* blood became thoroughly established on the English Turf, roughly in the last two decades, the direct descendants of *Eclipse* hold the following very extraordinary list of records :

- (1) *Donovan* and *Isinglass* have won most money in stakes of any horse in training.
- (2) *Stockwell* and *St. Simon* have produced more winning stock than any sire at the stud.
- (3) Nine out of ten winners of the "Triple Crown."
- (4) Eighty-two out of 127 Derby winners.
- (5) The highest price at public auction ever given for a racehorse (£39,375 for *Flying Fox*).
- (6) The highest price ever paid for a yearling (*Sceptre*).
- (7) The record times for the Two Thousand (1902), Derby (1906) and St. Leger (1906).

It would be difficult to produce better proof than this of the good done to thoroughbred stock by *Eclipse*, and it

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is needless to add that no other single animal has ever been the direct cause of so much money changing hands. If this were the right place, and I had the time, the value of the blood might be traced outside of England and all over the world. The best horses on the French Turf are sons of *Flying Fox*. *Sysonby*, the best in the United States, was by *Melton* out of a daughter of *Bend Or*, all three as directly descended from *Eclipse* as *Flying Fox*. It is the same everywhere else; and now the unworthy possibility of a gelding winning the Derby has been definitely removed we may look forward to the continued strengthening of the *Eclipse* lines through *Galopin*, *Sterling*, *Bend Or* and *Hampton* in the future.

I think this position has been reached as much through natural causes and natural laws as by any conscious fads of fashion or deliberate theories of breeding; and it may be as well to realise that, if we wish to breed the best, it will be by assisting those laws to operate, rather than by imposing artificial conditions of our own, that we are likely to succeed.



POTOSI (BY ECLIPSE)

From the engraving in the possession of Mr. Somerville Tattersall



HIS MAJESTY THE KING'S PERSIMMON A DIRECT
DESCENDANT OF ECLIPSE

From the photograph by Mr. G. H. Parsons of Asperger, 1906

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ADVENTURE OF THE SEDAN-CHAIR

DURING the crowd at a reception on King George II.'s birthday about 1750, the sedan-chairmen were charging a guinea to carry ladies from the top of St. James's Street to the Palace. Lady Blank's chariot had been unable for some time to proceed either forward or backward; and it was O'Kelly, with his sedan-chair, who came to her rescue. The Memoirs describe the result, as follows:

In helping her from her carriage and dispersing the crowd of surrounding gapers, Dennis acted with such powers and magnanimity that her ladyship conceived him to be a regeneration of Hercules or Hector; and her opinion was by no means altered when she beheld the powerful elasticity of his muscular motions on the way to the Royal residence. Dennis touched her ladyship's guinea, and bowed in return for a bewitching smile which accompanied it. The fatigues of this propitious day being over, he could begin to ruminate upon the profits, but more upon the smile—which, in fact, was given with such energy and meaning as to penetrate both head and heart; but what specific construction to form on the matter he was utterly at a loss for. Had he been acquainted with the delicacies and refinements of high life, he would have known better. In a little time, however, the mystery was explained. The very next evening, as he was standing near the door of White's Chocolate-house, he was accosted by an elderly woman, who asked him the way to Bolton Row, and at the same time offered him a shilling to conduct her, as she was quite a stranger. Dennis, who knew every place, immediately accepted the offer. They arrived at the house described, and he was asked in to drink something, the weather being extremely cold. An agreeable young woman, mistress of the house, who had been formerly chamber-maid at a noted Inn in Hounslow, opened the door, and received *the stranger in town* with great cordiality and friendship. "Do you know," said she, addressing herself to our Hero, "of any Chairman who wants a good place?" "Yes, Madam," answered Dennis, "an' that I do: I should be very glad to be after recommending myself, because I know myself, and love myself better than any one else." "Why then, if you will go to Lady

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Blank in Hanover Square, to-morrow morning, I think you will be hired ; you need mention no name, but say you heard of the place accidentally." " Bless you," replied Dennis, who, tossing off his bumper of stout brandy, retired. The next morning our Hero dressed himself to the best advantage, and repaired to Hanover Square, where, after making proper enquiries, and being introduced to the house steward, he was hired at the rate of thirty pound a year.

The next day our Hero was kept constantly employed in messages to Mantua-makers, Milliners, Perfumers, Hair-dressers, &c., and, among others, he was ordered to deliver a small parcel in *Bolton Row*, the identical house from whence he received his recommendation, and to wait until he received an answer ; there he was shown into a back parlour, warmed by a prodigious fire, and lighted with four wax candles. To divert *the tedious time*, a tankard of mulled wine was presented him, and the female, from whom he received it, informed him, her mistress was not expected home for some time : she had, however, ordered her to take *care of him*, and she was very happy in his company ; she was, she said, much alarmed at being *alone*. Dennis, who never missed an opportunity of kissing a pretty girl, and improving upon female condescensions, and in whom, the warm room and hot wine began to work with extraordinary emotion, replied, that "—— he was equally happy and wished to be more so," at the same moment raising up her *modest* downcast countenance. Who, in the name of wonder and delight did he behold, but Lady Blank herself !

APPENDIX B

THE ADVENTURE OF THE YORKSHIRE INN TOGETHER WITH THE AFFAIR OF DICK ENGLAND AND THE MATTER OF *DUNGANNON*

AFTER the races at York in 1770, the successes of *Eclipse* no doubt inspired a very excusable conviviality in Dennis O'Kelly. Unluckily, matters went rather too far, and an incident occurred which involved a good round sum of money before it was settled. The Memoirs give an account of what happened in their usual eloquent and flowery language :

In direct opposition to the fate of a celebrated and unfortunate states-man, it was the Count's lot always to occupy *the best inn's best rooms*, and to sleep in the softest and most sumptuous bed. Having, as usual, secured an apartment, and a bed of this description, and having had three nights' peaceable occupation, it could never enter his thoughts that any person, Male or Female, would attempt disturbing his possessions. However, it so happened, that on the fourth night, after drinking freely, and enjoying much conviviality, he took what is commonly called *French leave* of his companions, and going softly to his chamber, found the door fastened ; whether locked, or but slightly bolted, we cannot positively affirm ; but, it was in such a situation, as to be opened with little difficulty. An extinguished candle stood on a chair by the bed, which was closed all round, naturally excited no small degree of wonder ; curiosity was incidental. The Count gently drawing back the silken curtain to his astonishment and delight, beheld a most enchanting female countenance !

The contemporary Press were not slow to take up an adventure which promised so much interest—if not excitement—in the society circles of the North ; and the following letter appeared soon afterwards :

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

To the Printer of the Town and Country MAGAZINE.

SIR,

As an affair which happened at the end of last month at York has made a great noise, and as the principal character is likely to make a still greater, the particulars of this transaction will, doubtless, be agreeable to your curious readers.

The renowned Count K., proprietor of the celebrated horse *Ec—se*, being at York races, had engaged a room at the principal inn, to which by some mistake a young lady, daughter to a Roman-catholic baronet in that county, had been admitted. The count was that evening amusing himself with a few *friends* at the coffee-house, at that innocent and amusing diversion called *hazard*, which engaged him till near three in the morning. Upon his return finding his chamber-door locked, he forced it open, and meeting with so agreeable an inmate, he begged that he might not interrupt her. The lady, instead of consenting to this proposal, flew out of the room, lightly attired as she was, and ran along the gallery, crying out for help, whilst the count pursued her. This alarmed the other lodgers, who presently came to her relief, when the hero thought proper to make a retreat, and barricadoed himself in his room. This did but more incense the lady's friends, who immediately broke open the door, and secured him. A prosecution was commenced, which the count, however, found means to avert by the judicious application of a large sum of money. (The Count has since begged pardon in the public papers of the Lady for the insult, and given five hundred pounds, to be disposed of for such charitable purposes as she shall direct.) Upon this occasion he received the following curious billet from Santa Charlotta, alias Miss Charlotte H-y-s, his trusty friend and mistress in London.

SIR,

Your behaviour at York, which is in every body's mouth, so strongly merits my resentment, that the condescension of writing to you is more than you ought to expect. After the many repeated vows you have made, and oaths you have sworn, that I, and I alone, was the idol of your heart, could so short an absence entirely efface me from your remembrance? and was I to be abandoned for the accidental rencounter of a new face?

Oh! Dennis, are my charms so faded, my beauty so decayed, my understanding so impaired, which you have so often and so highly praised, as to destroy all the impressions you pretended they had made upon you! but if love has entirely subsided, surely gratitude might have pleaded so strongly in my behalf as to have excluded all other females from your affections. Remember when in the Fleet, when famine stared you in the face, and wretched tatters scarce covered your nakedness—I fed, cloathed, and made a gentleman of you. Remember the day-rules I obtained for you—remember the sums you won through that means—then remember me.

But why do I talk of love or gratitude?—let interest plead, the most powerful reason that will operate on you. What a wretch!—to fling away in a drunken frolic—in the ridiculous attempt of an amour—more money, aye far more money, than even your horse *Ec—se*, with all his superior agility, has *run away with* in a whole season.

Marlborough-street,
Sept. 4.

Your most disconsolate,
CHARLOTTE H-Y-S.

APPENDIX B

It was not likely that the reputation of *Eclipse's* owner would be improved by escapades of this kind among the men whose horses *Eclipse* was invariably beating ; and another notorious fracas, which again involved "the law," must have still further blackened O'Kelly's character, this time in the South as well. It is somewhat to his credit that he should have quarrelled with that burly blackguard, Dick England, soon after his return from York ; but what men remember in cases of this kind is rather the mere fact of association, and draw their own conclusions. O'Kelly was dining at Medley's Coffee House one afternoon, when a dispute was engineered between him and another guest. At the sound of the altercation Dick England, who was waiting below, dashed up, and with his cudgel so severely belaboured O'Kelly, who was lamed by an attack of the gout, that the Irishman had to be taken to bed on the spot. A lawsuit was begun at once, before a special jury in the Court of King's Bench ; but though the assault was clearly established, Lord Mansfield's summing up resulted in damages for the ridiculous sum of one shilling. This cannot have done O'Kelly any good. Whatever the rights of the case may have been, it is clear Lord Mansfield was sometimes very worried by rascals on the Turf who took to litigation. His adjuration to one especially annoying set is still remembered :

"What a Godalmighty's name, gentlemen. Will you never have done running this Copperbottom? Ha!" The horse referred to may have been Lord Rockingham's b. h. *Copperbottom*, by *Tantrum*, who was second in 1781 for the Doncaster Cup, 5 years, 8st. 3lbs.

I have not been able to find much against O'Kelly as far as his actual racing transactions go ; but there is the episode about *Dungannon* (by *Eclipse*) which needs some explanation ; or perhaps it shows that when he was not racing with a Prince of the Blood, or a "gentleman who mattered," he was not invariably either scrupulous or prudent. The Memoirs describe what happened as follows :

The importance of Colonel O'Kelly on the turf, seemed for a time, to increase daily. His opinion became more and more authoritative, and his company more and more solicited, in short he was regarded as the oracle of his profession. Our illustrious and all accomplished heir apparent was among the number of those who admired his knowledge, and condescended to make a match with

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

him in favour of the famous horse Rockingham, against the no less famous Duncannon, son to Eclipse, and O'Kelly's first favourite. The immediate bett was one thousand guineas, but, it is said, and universally admitted, that more than one hundred thousand were depending upon the event. The ease with which Duncannon won this important match, nearly involved him in the same misfortune which we have already noticed, when speaking of the *Manœuvre* practised upon Eclipse.

In a short period after this victory of Duncannon, the shameful parsimony or a close-fisted and narrow-minded minister, gave the Prince of Wales a glorious occasion of displaying his heroic honesty. The facts are too well known, and the Prince's conduct too universally admired to need repetition or applause. Among other expedients for the relief of his distressed tradesmen, the royal stud, though an object so alluring to a young and elevated mind, was cheerfully disposed of, and, with the other sacrifices to ministerial penury, *Rockingham*, the favourite of his Royal owner, was knocked down by the hammer of Tattersal, for a sum very far inadequate to his worth. Bullock, who, with Colonel O'Kelly, always appeared in the van of horse racing, made the purchase, and in some time afterwards challenged him to a second trial of Duncannon's speed. The invitation was accepted, and a day accordingly appointed for the contest. Betts were equal to the former, and the ground as much thronged; when, lo! to the disappointment and indignation of every one present, and the disapprobation of all who heard of the transaction, at the moment when the start was expected, the Colonel arrived; and, after looking for some time at Duncannon, who was then near the post, ordered him to be led off the course. The confusion occasioned by this unexpected procedure can better be imagined than expressed; the Count was execrated in all quarters, and, it is thought, if he had not avoided danger, by a judicious retreat, he would have experienced the severest resentment of the multitude."

It is worth remembering that the *Rockingham* mentioned above had originally been bought by the Prince from Mr. John Pratt of Askrigg, whose epitaph records that honourable incident in the annals of his successful stud.

APPENDIX C

THE MILITIA

THE regiment in which O'Kelly rose to the rank of Colonel is thus described in the contemporary Memoirs :

About the year 1760, when the militia was first settled upon its present establishment, the county of Middlesex, to its disgrace, was extremely backward in raising their proportion of national defence. The city of Westminster had not taken a single step towards a measure so necessary and patriotic, at a time when the regiments of other counties were fit for actual service. A well-known military, turbulent Scot, whose family had been active in the Rebellion of 1745, and had suffered much in the Stewart cause, conceiving this to be a good opportunity of filling his pocket, and retrieving his lost honours, set about raising a regiment in Westminster, and with such activity and zeal did this bold bustling North Briton proceed in the business, that Government noticed his exertions, and promised to establish the regiment so soon as three-fourths of the commissions should be filled up. This was, however, a more arduous and difficult matter, than was at first conceived. The *military mania*, did not, at that time rage, as was the case during the last war, and many of the more respectable corps remained unofficered; what must be the supposed situation of this band of illustrious City Mermidions! The indefatigable energy, however, with which the undaunted Scot proceeded, was not to be repelled. He ransacked the town and its vicinities, holding out commissions indiscriminately; . . . among the motley group, our Hero stood conspicuous, as an Ensign, from which station he rose by regular gradations, and with a regular good character, to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

The compliment of commissions, being at length filled up, MacGregor, for such was the name of the Caledonian adventurer, attained his point. It was called the Westminster Regiment of Middlesex Militia, and MacGregor was appointed Adjutant, the only lucrative situation in the corps. In a short time after he contrived to be appointed Captain, and was, in fact everything in the regiment, from Serjeant to Colonel. Commissions and halberts were sold, like any other marketable commodities. . . .

. . . Our Readers will naturally wonder, that a man of title, rank, fortune, and character, could be prevailed upon to take any command in the West-

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minster division of Middlesex Militia; yet, wonderful to relate, Sir Thomas Frederick, a gentleman possessing all those claims, was bold enough, in a moment of seduction and conviviality to take the command; and no less a respectable a character, than Sir John Gibbons, inveigled by a precedent so distinguished, accepted the Lieutenant Colonelcy. The difference of situation between those gentlemen and the other officers was truly remarkable and ludicrous. Lamb, the Major, (not the Lamb immortalized by Foote) was a common mechanic, we believe, a watch-maker; and the Captains and Subalterns were, in general, really so low and obscure, as to be beneath the level of contempt or observation. . . .

. . . It was not long before our Hero was advanced to the rank of Captain. This station he considered but as merely convenient to a vanity which could be by no means condemned. It not only gave him a real denomination, but the additions of a gentleman, and it was with that view, and no other, he condescended to sustain it. Upon every occasion he was seen at the head of the Grenadier Company; and it is but justice to observe, that he bore the most soldierly appearance of any officer in the regiment. Of discipline he was, at this time, totally ignorant, and whenever he attempted to perform the most trifling evolution, he betrayed an awkwardness, that immediately discovered his general deficiency. In support of that superior personal aspect, which he always maintained, he was constantly attended by an expensive retinue, carriages, &c., and Charlotte, who travelled in the rear of his company, with her separate suite.

The officer next in rotation, was the redoubted Gregor MacGregor, by whose activity the regiment was originally raised. From its establishment to this period, he held the post of Adjutant. He was a pupil of the old military school, and as far as ancient prejudices would admit, knew what he was about, but growing unfit for the activity of his station, he was permitted to dispose of it, for about one thousand guineas, and remained as a nominal Captain in the regiment.

I will add, for the sake of abridgment, that the third captain was a tea-dealer; the fourth a tailor; the fifth a boatswain's mate, who had bought an ale-house with the prize-money he got in the navy, and now enjoyed a considerable reputation in the neighbourhood as being able to sign his name with a professional flourish; and the youngest, rejoicing in the name of Hundeshagen, was a crippled and bald-headed Dutchman. In spite of all this, at Plymouth, where many regiments were well-nigh useless from insubordination, the Westminster Militia set an example of steadiness and alacrity at a time when "the fleets of France and Spain were seen hovering at an inconsiderable distance from the shore." They marched on to Cornwall, from Cornwall back to Chatham, and took in all about five years to complete a circuit which led them home, by way of Lancaster, to London.

APPENDIX C

It must not be imagined that O'Kelly invariably accompanied them. But he always made his presence felt, and was soon recognised as the only man of his hands and feet in the officers' mess. His name appears in a public petition to the Lord-Lieutenant, asking that certain of them, whose incapable poltroonery had become more insupportable than usual, should be removed. The Lord-Lieutenant paid no notice, preferring to leave the regiment to the natural processes of decay. In due course O'Kelly obtained his promotion as Major, and "the pre-eminence which he had heretofore derived from money, splendour and spirit, was now established by rank." But the astonishing thing is that his innate capacity for action enabled him actually "to exercise the regiment several times before His Majesty and a number of general officers, to their entire satisfaction." No doubt this was a prelude to that Lieutenant-Colonelcy which O'Kelly celebrated by "a splendid entertainment, at which Lord Derby and several of the nobility and gentry of Lancashire were present."

APPENDIX D

“L’AFFAIRE ROCHFORD”

FROM various manuscript memoranda now possessed by collateral descendants of Dennis O’Kelly, it appears that an officer of his acquaintance, named Rowland Rochfort, had borrowed ready money (including a note of hand for £50) from his sister, Mary Rochfort, in Dublin in 1775 and 1777. Desiring both to repay this and to provide his own necessities, he handed Dennis a note of hand for a thousand guineas, signed by H. F. Calcraft, from the proceeds of which Dennis was to realise what was wanted. When, however, Rochfort demanded the money, O’Kelly refused to pay the balance of this £1000 left after Mary Rochfort’s £50 and her brother’s personal debts had been deducted; and, since Rochfort was unfortunately killed in active service, his sister and heiress, holding about £600 of his acknowledgments, was obliged to apply to the Court of Exchequer for help. O’Kelly’s lawyers first denied that Rochfort had ever passed him on Calcraft’s note, or, if it was so passed, insisted that Rochfort owed O’Kelly far greater sums than that. In fact, said they, O’Kelly was not only justified in keeping the note for £1000, but he would sue Mary Rochfort for payment of her note for £50.

From another legal paper I find that Dennis O’Kelly obtained judgment in the King’s Bench, in Ireland, in Hilary Term, 1775, against “George [Rowland] Rochfort, Esq., Captain Lieutenant in His Majesty’s third Battalion Royal Regiment of Artillery,” for £660.

But the sister seems to have harboured very little resentment; for on November 12, 1776, she wrote from London to “Captain O’Kelly, Epsom, Surrey,” about her note for £50; and ends her

APPENDIX D

letter as follows : " I take it very unkind your not calling on me when in Town, particular as you knew how very ill I was. My compliments to Mrs. O'Kelly. Your very obliged servant, M. ROCHFORT."

The key to this little mystery does not appear until the documents of 1817 reveal a letter signed by H. F. Calcraft, and written to Mr. Michell of Bloomsbury, solicitor to Andrew Dennis O'Kelly, who had found among his uncle's papers a promissory note for a thousand guineas, dated 1775, payable by H. F. Calcraft, three years after date, to Rowland Rochfort, and endorsed by the latter to the late Colonel [Dennis] O'Kelly.

Mr. Calcraft begins as follows :

"To be obliged to account for the folly or weakness of my early youth, on the verge of my grand climacteric, is a singular fate, but the possessor of such a document under my signature is doubtless entitled to the fullest explanation respecting it." The writer considered it "a mere *Nullity*, and from its origin ought never to have been regarded in any other point of view." He was on board the Montreal Frigate in 1768, when little more than eleven, and was serving in the Navy at Madras when news came of his father's death in 1774, and he left the service for England, where exaggerated reports of his "fortune" were current. He fell into the hands of Rochfort, who "initiated me in games at Dice, which I beheld under his instructions for the first time, and concluded the same by acquainting me that I owed him 1000 guineas . . . and my note for that sum was demanded."

His father's inheritance in all was only £5000. "I could not afford to part with so considerable a portion of it for being grossly duped, and I therefore fully determined never to pay even the smallest part of what I had every reason to believe could not have been fairly won from a person of so early an age." He was in England for some years from 1785, and held the office of Town Mayor and Judge Advocate-General in Caicutta for more than twenty years, and the note was never presented. He now considered there was no claim whatever upon him, "inasmuch as a novice not quite 18 can be no match for a professed gamester." He was a ward in Chancery from August 1772 till September 1777, where the dates given above can be verified.

From all this it is a legitimate deduction that Dennis O'Kelly had been quite willing to help his countryman, Rowland Rochfort, but that he had realised the nature of the promissory note obtained from young Calcraft, and never pressed the boy to pay it.

APPENDIX E

MR. HALLETT'S CATALOGUE

PARTICULARS OF THE CANNONS ESTATE SOLD TO DENNIS O'KELLY IN NOVEMBER, 1785

LOT I.

A Very Valuable and most Desirable Freehold Estate, delightfully situate at Stanmore, in the County of Middlesex, Nine Miles from London; comprising A neat, magnificent, PORTLAND-STONE DWELLING-HOUSE, uniformly erected in a capital masterly Stile, seated on an elevated Spot in the midst of a fertile Paddock, commanding beautiful Prospects of the circumjacent rich Country, diversified by hanging Woods, and a Variety of agreeable Objects; Containing, on the ATTIC STORY, Seven Bed-Chambers, with Closets. PRINCIPAL STORY, Five Bed-Chambers, and two Dressing-Rooms. GROUND STORY, A spacious Saloon, with Oak Floor, a Drawing Room, Dining Parlour, and Study; a commodious paved Hall, and Stone geometrical Staircase. BASEMENT STORY, A House-keeper's Room, Butler's Pantry, Servants' Hall, and large Kitchen, with useful connected Offices, spacious Vaults, Cellarage, and Ice-House.

The detached DOMESTIC OFFICES consist of—A convenient Brewhouse, Wash-house, Laundry, and Chamber over. Also at a proper Distance, an eight-stall Stable, a triple Coach-house, with Lofts and Men's Chambers over, and a three-stall Stable. A large Farm-Yard, surrounded with excellent Dutch Barns, Corn-Barn, Stabling, Cowhouse, and other useful Buildings; and a Bailiff's Messuage.

The Pleasure-Grounds surround the Dwelling-House, laid out in Lawns, agreeably variegated with Clumps of Flowering-Shrubs and valuable Plants.

A very good Kitchen-Garden of two Acres, encompassed by lofty Walling cloathed with choice Fruit-Trees, and fully cropped; a Green-House, Melon-Ground, and Gardener's Cottage; with the Paddock of remarkable fertile Meadow Land, refreshed by two noble Sheets of Water stocked with Abundance of Fish; and a Dog-Kennel and Boiling-House properly placed; the Whole inclosed by a capital Brick Wall.

Three Avenues and Five Inclosures of rich Meadow Land and Five Springs of Wood Land, containing together One Hundred and Ninety-three Acres, One Rood, and Twenty-seven Perch, be the

APPENDIX E

	£	s.	d.
same more or less, numbered in the Plan, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, and are of the supposed yearly Value (exclusive of House and Offices) of	400	0	0
A small genteel Brick Dwelling-House, Offices, and Gardens, Coach-house, Stabling, and Yard, the Whole One Acre and a Half, numbered in the Plan 16, in the Possession of Mr. Gibson, who quits at Michaelmas, 1785, at	35	0	0
A small genteel Brick Dwelling-House, Offices, and Gardens, Coach-house, Stabling, and Yard, the Whole One Acre and a Rood, No. 17 in Plan, late in the Possession of Mr. Green, at	25	0	0
	£460	0	0

The whole Quantity of Land in Lot I. contains One Hundred and Ninety-six Acres, and twenty-seven Perch, be the same more or less, within a Ring Fence, and all Freehold, except a small Part, consisting of Part of No. 17, supposed about Half an Acre, which is Copyhold of Inheritance, subject to a small annual Quit-Rent, and a Fine on Death or Alienation at the Will of the Lord, but no Heriot.

Lot I. subject to £10. 13s. 4d. per Annum, payable Quarterly, to Seven poor Alms-People; and to £1. 1s. payable Annually to the same Alms-People, for Shoes.

The Purchaser to buy, at a Valuation, the usual Fixtures in House and Offices, an Inventory of which will be read at the Time of Sale: And may be accommodated with the Effects in House and Offices, that may be thought proper to be left by the present Proprietor, with the Deer, Live and Dead Stock, Farming Implements, &c., at a Valuation; if rejected, they will be sold on the Premises.

Sundry Estates in and contiguous to the Town of Edgware, the Property of the present Vendor, and not to be sold, are supplied with Water from the Bason in Edgware Avenue, comprised in Lot I. and No. 6 in Plan; therefore Lot I. is to be sold, subject to the present Vendor, his Heirs, or Assigns, having the said Estates supplied from the Bason, they keeping the Pipes in Order, and making good any Damage that may be committed by mending the Pipes, or laying new ones down.

REPAIRS AT CANNONS IN 1799.

In the Bill to A. D. O'Kelly from John Bodimeade occur the following items:

April 22. To 14 pounds of soder to repair the flott on the top of Cannons house, at 9d.	10	6	
A day's labour to do. and nails	3	9	
April 23. To 1 sash light to the water closet room 23 by 20	6	6	
1 light to the saloon room worked to the stained glass 21 by 20	7	0	
May 25. 20 pound of soder for the flott and gutters	15	0	
A day's work, 1 man and labourer	5	0	
Nails for do.	0	6	

In 1798, on July 26, Messrs. Spurrier and Phipps, of Coptal Court, valued Cannons at £64,000, exclusive of timber and under-

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wood; and include in it "a small house adjoining the village of Edgeware, copyhold of inheritance," in which H. Grattan and Mary O'Kelly Grattan lived later on.

In 1805, in a list of the Encumbrances on Cannons, the following items occur :

Various loans, among which is Harvey's £6000, and "Bazilgate's" £9000; also Mrs. O'Kelly's annuity of £400, amount to a capital of £29,610, and annual interest of £2090 10s.

If the estate only sold at £40,000 it would only leave £10,390; and to indemnify a purchaser for Mrs. O'Kelly's annuity and another, a sum of £13,000 would have to be deposited in the funds.

An annuity of £200 was also payable to Mr. and Mrs. Philip O'Kelly for their lives.

By November 23, 1808, Andrew O'Kelly's liabilities had increased to the several sums of £21,800; £11,976; and £2829; all mortgages on Cannons for sums lent by Michael Atkinson of Upper Harley Street, and an offer was then entertained from Andrew's cousin, Philip Whitfield Harvey, to purchase the estate, including deer, horses, and cattle, for £48,000.

In June 1811, the whole 380 acres of the estate, including houses, timber, and stock, was valued at £77,000; and at that time the Countess of Pomfret was paying £525 a year for the mansion, furnished, and pleasure grounds.

Captain James Anderson paid £102 18s. for the South Lodge and twelve acres. James Greig, Charles Bonner and S. D. Harvey were tenants of land to amount of £136 10s. in all; and the Earl of Elgin paid £482 a year for North Lodge and eighty acres.

By 1823 Colonel Andrew O'Kelly was dead, and in February of that year Sir Thomas Plumer, Master of the Rolls, who had bought Cannons, writes to Mr. Harvey in Ireland concerning "the sum of £1000 retained by me out of the purchase money of Cannons as an indemnity against all liabilities in respect of Mrs. Hayes's annuity"; also concerning a bond for a further amount of £4000 for "the living of Whitchurch in case a title could have made to it"; expressing his willingness, if this second matter were settled, to pay £1000 immediately to the Ex^{ors}. of Col. O'Kelly, "against all liability in respect of any claim in future in respect of Mrs. Haye's annuity."

The details of the estate purchased by Sir Thomas Plumer may

APPENDIX E

be found in the auctioneer's catalogue of the sale ordered by the Court of Chancery in a suit between Michael Atkinson and Andrew O'Kelly. I have reprinted the whole document.

PARTICULARS OF A FREEHOLD AND COPYHOLD ESTATE

(A small Part only being Copyhold),

called CANNONS,

Situate a LITTLE STANMORE, in the County of Middlesex, TO BE SOLD, Pursuant to a Decree of the High Court of Chancery, dated the 7th day of May, 1811, With the Approbation of EDWARD MORRIS, Esq., One of the Masters of the said Court, at the PUBLIC SALE ROOM of the said Court, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, on Friday the 12th Day of July, 1811, at Two o'clock, IN ONE LOT.

PARTICULARS, &c.

All that CAPITAL MESSUAGE or MANSION HOUSE commonly called CANNONS, situate in the Parish of Stanmore Parva, otherwise Little Stanmore, in the County of Middlesex, with the numerous Offices, Coach Houses, Stables, Barns, Cow Houses, Lodges, Cottages, Out Houses, Courts, Yards, Gardens, Pleasure Grounds, Lawns, and Shrubberies, thereunto belonging, together with the Site or Parcel of GROUND whereon the said Capital Messuage and Buildings stand, and the Premises comprising the same, containing, by Estimation, Seventeen Acres, or thereabouts, be the same more or less; and also Three AVENUES and Five Inclosures or Pieces of MEADOW or PASTURE GROUND; and also Five Springs of WOODLAND, lying contiguous to, and now, or formerly, occupied with the before-mentioned capital Messuage; and also Two BRICK DWELLING-HOUSES standing between the Wall that incloses the before-mentioned Mansion House, and the High Road leading from Edgeware to Stanmore, with the Coach Houses, Offices, Gardens, and Ground thereto belonging; all which Inclosures, Lands, Grounds, Woodlands, and Premises, before described, contain in the Whole 196 Acres and 27 Perches, or thereabouts, be the same more or less, and a small Piece thereof, containing about Half an Acre, is Copyhold of Inheritance held of the Manor of Little Stanmore: Also a CLOSE, called CHERRY ORCHARD, containing 4 Acres, 3 Roods and 5 Perches, or thereabouts; also a Piece or Parcel of Ground, called DOVE HOUSE MEAD, containing 12 Acres and 20 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE, formerly Two Closes, called GREAT LUDSPUTT and LITTLE LUDSPUTT, containing 13 Acres 1 Rood and 22 Perches, or thereabouts; also Two CLOSES, called GILES PARK, containing 7 Acres and 13 Poles, or thereabouts; also all that CLOSE called GREAT GILES PARK, containing 11 Acres

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1 Rood and 32 Perches, or thereabouts; all which said Pieces or Parcels of Land are situate in the said Parish of Little Stanmore, and contain in the Whole 48 Acres 3 Roods and 12 Perches, or thereabouts, be the same more or less: Also a CLOSE called STENWICK HILL PASTURE, containing 6 Acres 1 rood and 1 Perch, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE called GREAT HENSHIRE, containing 8 Acres 3 Roods and 19 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE, formerly Two Fields, called LITTLE POUND FIELD and SEVEN ACRES, containing 20 Acres and 36 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE, called POUND FIELD MEADOW, containing 8 Acres 3 Roods and 22 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE, called GREAT ANMERS, containing 7 Acres 1 Rood and 22 Perches, or thereabouts; also a PIECE of LAND called ANMER'S MEADOW, containing 7 Acres, or thereabouts; all which Closes, Pieces, or Parcels of Land last described, are situate in the said Parish of Little Stanmore and contain, in the Whole, 58 Acres and 3 Roods, or thereabouts, be the same more or less; Also a CLOSE called CROW GROVE or SHOTTS, containing 18 Acres 1 Rood and 19 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE called MIDDLE CHURCH FIELD, containing 10 Acres 1 Rood and 34 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE called CHURCH FIELD, containing 11 Acres 3 Roods and 38 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE called GREAT MARSH, containing 25 Acres 1 Rood and 6 Perches, or thereabouts; also a CLOSE called the SLIP; also those PIECES of LAND called LITTLE MARSH, or SHEPHERD'S MEAD, containing 3 Acres and 36 Perches, or thereabouts; all which Closes, Pieces, or Parcels of Land last mentioned and described, are situate in the said Parish of Little Stanmore, and contain in the Whole, 71 Acres 1 Rood and 3 Perches, or thereabouts, be the same more or less: Also a MESSUAGE or TENEMENT, with the Barn, Yard, Garden, and a Piece or Parcel of Pasture Ground thereto adjoining, containing, by Estimation, One Acre, or thereabouts, which said last-mentioned Messuage or Tenement, Ground and Premises, are Copyhold of Inheritance, and held of the said Manor of Little Stanmore.

The said Estate is chargeable with an Annuity of £400 for the Life of a Lady aged about 85 Years, and will be sold subject to the said Annuity, or discharged therefrom, as the Parties may hereafter agree upon, and as will be declared at the Time of Sale.

The Estate is also subject to an Out-going of £11 14s. 4d. per Annum to the Poor Alms People belonging to the Parish of Little Stanmore.

One of the Brick Dwelling Houses and Part of the Close called the Great Marsh, being about 12 Acres, are on Lease to Captain Anderson for a Term of 21 Years, from Lady Day 1807, at the yearly Rent of £104. Several of the Closes or Parcels of Land near the Mansion House, containing about 80 Acres, together with some Out-buildings, are let to the Earl of Elgin on an Agreement for Three Years, from Michaelmas last, at the yearly Rent of £483; and the Closes or Parcels of Land called Great Anmers and Anmer's Meadow, are on Lease to David Greig, for a Term of 21 years, from Lady Day 1803, at the yearly Rent of £63. The Mansion House, and other Parts of the Estate are in Possession of the said Andrew Dennis O'Kelly, and Tenants at Will.

Particulars of the said Estate may be had (gratis) at the said Master's Chambers, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London; of Messrs. Crowder, Lavie and Garth, Solicitors, Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, London; of Mr. Richards, Solicitor, Red Lion Square, London; and at the Inns at Stanmore and Edgeware, in the County of Middlesex.

APPENDIX E

PARTICULARS

LOT I.

A VALUABLE FREEHOLD ESTATE, CALLED CANNONS, Situate Between Edgeware and Stanmore, Comprising AN ELEGANT STONE-BUILT MANSION, Placed on a Fine Commanding Eminence, Surrounded by A PARK WALL, and nearly One Hundred and Forty Acres of fine rich Meadow Feeding Land, Embellished with noble lofty Timber Trees, Disposed in Avenues, and Dispersed over the Lands, ORNAMENTED BY A NOBLE SHEET OF WATER, AND CANALS STORED WITH FISH; commanding Extensive and enchantingly picturesque Views over the surrounding Country in all directions; Two Porters Lodges at the Principal Entrance, With Carriage Drives through Avenues to THE MANSION, which contains in THE ATTIC STORY, Six excellent Bedchambers with Fire-places, a Store Room, Closets, Lobby to the Leads—the Rooms are finished with Sash Windows. SECOND STORY, Two excellent Bedchambers, with Marble Chimney-pieces, Wood Dressings, neatly papered, and Cornice; large Closet. A good proportioned handsome bowed Bedchamber, neat Cornice, and papered. A Chamber adjoining on the Back Front, neatly papered, finished with Marble Chimney-piece and Cornice. Bedchamber and Dressing Room adjoining, Patent Water Closet in Cabinet. Bowed Bedchamber, West, a good proportioned Room, papered, Marble Chimney-piece, Wood Dressings, and Plate Glass Pannels, neat Cornice. Spacious Lobby. GROUND STORY, Entrance by Stone Steps to a handsome Hall, paved with Stone, Walls stuccoed, enriched Cornice. An elegant Stone Staircase to the First Floor, the Hand-rail inlaid with Ivory and Pearl, Iron Ballustrade. A neat Study, wainscotted, Sash Windows with circular Head, Marble Chimney-piece, Wood Dressings, Two Closets, &c. Opposite to which is a Breakfast Room, stuccoed Walls, coloured Green, finished with gilt Mouldings, enriched Cornice, and Statuary Marble Chimney-piece. A Bow-Front Drawing Room, with elegant India Paper and gilt Mouldings, capital Statuary Marble Chimney-piece, with Sienna Frieze, enriched Cornice and Ceiling, carved Mouldings, and Sash Windows with circular Head. A Noble Saloon Adjoining, the whole Length of North Front, finished with stuccoed Walls, broad gilt Mouldings, enriched Ceiling and Cornice, Two solid veined Marble Chimney-pieces, Four Sash Windows with circular Head, Door to Lawn in the Bow and Stone Steps, Wainscot Floor. Dining Parlour, with bowed End on the West Side, wainscotted, Sash Windows, enriched Cornice and Ceiling, Statuary and Sienna Marble Chimney-piece.

OFFICES. Housekeeper's Room, with Closets, Presses, and Shelves. Roomy Servants' Hall, with Oven, Sink, &c. Two Larders, Dairy. An excellent roomy Kitchen, with Dressers, Shelves, &c. Butler's Pantry, with Cupboards, &c. Large Scullery, Force Pump, Sink, &c.—Ice-house. Numerous and excellent vaulted Cellars for Wine, Beer, and other Purposes.

A LARGE OPEN AREA on the West Front, with Iron Rails, paved with Stone, Vaults, and Steps to the Terrace. Lawns on the West and South fronts, planted with Shrubs, Evergreens, and laid out with Gravel Walks.

DETACHED OFFICES. Double Coach-house, Stable for Eight Horses, Lofts and Room over. Yard, with open Stable, Loft over, Cow-house, Piggery, and Dove Cote, &c. Two enclosed Paddocks for Stallions, with an open Stable each. A Brew-house, Laundry, and Wash-house. A spacious Farm-yard, with

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

Four Cart Sheds and Loft over, and Three Stables for Two Horses each adjoining, and Colt Stables. Two capital extensive Hay Barns, with Granary at one end, and a Granary on Stone Piers. A large Barn and Stable adjoining.

A NEAT FARM HOUSE, Cart Stable for Five Horses, with Harness Room and a Dog Kennel. Work-shop, Fowl-house, Wood-yard, and Four Paddocks, with Stables in each, Large Cattle-shed Back of the Hay Barns, and various Out-buildings; And a fine Well of Water. A capital Kitchen Garden, walled round, cloathed with select Fruit Trees, fully stocked and cropped, well planted. A Melon Ground, with Sheds. A good Gardener's House, Green-house, Fish Pond, and a large Garden and Orchard adjoining, ABOUT FOUR ACRES, well planted with fine young Trees, and a Slip with ditto.

APPENDIX F

AFFIDAVITS IN THE MATTER OF CHIFNEY S ANNUITY

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was graciously pleased to settle an annuity upon the late Samuel Chifney, which he, with his Royal Highness's approbation, sold to Joseph Sparkes, Esq., who received the same eleven successive quarters, when payment thereof was stopped. An inquiry into the cause of its discontinuance, and an apparent want of recollection on the part of a gentleman who was a party to the transaction, seemed to have rendered it questionable whether the grant was made during pleasure, or during his Royal Highness's life, and it is to determine that question that the following confirmations of the Tract are produced :

IN THE MATTER OF SAMUEL CHIFNEY.

JOSEPH SPARKES of Brompton in the County of Middlesex Esq^r maketh oath and saith that in the latter end of the Year One thousand eight hundred He was applied to by Samuel Chifney, since deceased, who represented himself to be in the greatest distress, having been repeatedly threatened, and in daily expectation of being sent to Prison for debt, and from which he had no other prospect of being released than from the sale of an Annuity of Two hundred Guineas, which he stated His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales had granted to him, during the life of His said Royal Highness, and this deponent further saith that the said Samuel Chifney also represented to this deponent that his said Royal Highness had most graciously condescended to permit him to sell and assign the said Annuity to any person who would purchase the same, and thereby relieve the said Samuel Chifney from his otherwise inextricable difficulties. And this deponent further saith that although he had reason to rely on the truth of the statement made by the said Samuel Chifney, he nevertheless thought it his duty (after having called upon Colonel Mac Mahon in company with Colonel O'Kelly) to enquire of Robert Grey Esq^r, the Auditor, (as this Deponent believes) of the Duchy of Cornwall Office, whether such

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Annuity was then paid, and whether His said Royal Highness had consented to the alienation thereof and that the same would be paid to a purchaser. And this Deponent further saith that being answered in the affirmative by the said Robert Grey, he upon the faith and reliance of this assurance purchased of the said Samuel Chifney his said Annuity of Two hundred Guineas, for which he the said Samuel Chifney received from this Deponent the full sum of twelve hundred Guineas, and in consequence thereof executed an Assignment of the same to this Deponent. And this Deponent further saith that after the execution thereof he attended at the office of the said Robert Grey Esq^r and procured an Entry of the same to be made thereof in the Books belonging thereto; but whether this Deponent was recorded therein as the Assignee or the Attorney of the said Samuel Chifney, he this Deponent does not accurately remember, as nothing passed at the time to direct his attention to that circumstance, but this deponent saith, that it being very important to his interests to ascertain as far as he was able to do, whether or not his said Royal Highness was desirous that the said Samuel Chifney should alienate his said Annuity, he did most distinctly give the said Robert Grey to understand (although he cannot at this distance of time recollect the exact words he used on the occasion) that he was about to purchase the same of the said Samuel Chifney and the said Robert Grey was fully apprised and knew that from the day of his, this Deponent's completing the said purchase, the said Samuel Chifney would have no further Interest in the said Annuity. And this Deponent further saith, that he afterwards received at the said Auditor's Office, eleven payments of the said Annuity, but in the Month of May 1804, a Notice was given him whereby he was informed that no other payment would be made thereon, and lastly this Deponent saith that he hath since parted with the said Annuity, and hath no further interest therein.

Sworn at the Public Office in Southampton
Buildings the day of
1813 before

ANDREW DENNIS O'KELLY Esq^r of Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, in the County of Middlesex, maketh oath and saith that some time in the latter end of the Year One thousand eight hundred, he was applied to by the Marquis of Donegall to become surety in lieu of the said Marquis, for the payment of an Annuity of Two hundred Guineas, which his Royal Highness The Prince of Wales had granted for his own life to Samuel Chifney: which Annuity the said Samuel Chifney had agreed to dispose of to Joseph Sparkes Esq^r, who, having required that the payment of it should be guaranteed, the said Marquis had consented to become such guarantee; but that the said Mr. Sparkes objected to accept the guarantee of the said Marquis, on account of his being a Peer of the Realm. And this Deponent further saith, that in complying as he did with the request of the said Marquis as aforesaid He was influenced by other causes besides the said Marquis's counter guarantee to this Deponent, and principally because the confidence which he, this Deponent, had in the regular payment of the said Annuity by His Royal Highness during his Royal Highness's life, was fully confirmed by this Deponent having had good, sufficient, and satisfactory means of knowing that the said Annuity had been granted to the said Samuel Chifney by His Royal Highness, for, and during His Royal Highness's life. And this Deponent considering that the benevolent intention of His Royal Highness in respect to the said Samuel Chifney would be greatly promoted by the

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aforesaid arrangement for enabling the said Samuel Chifney to dispose of the said Annuity, this Deponent, at the request of the said Samuel Chifney and the said Joseph Sparkes made application to Colonel Mac Mahon (now The Right Honourable John Mac Mahon) for the purpose of procuring for the said Mr Sparkes satisfactory assurances respecting the actual grant of the said Annuity for the life of His Royal Highness, and respecting other particulars relating thereunto, And this Deponent further saith that the said Colonel Mac Mahon authorised this Deponent to appoint the said Mr Sparkes to attend at the residence of the said Colonel Mac Mahon to receive from him the assurances required; and that when the said Deponent caused the said Mr. Sparkes to attend him at the residence of the said Colonel Mac Mahon, he the said Colonel Mac Mahon informed this Deponent that upon further consideration of the matter he the said Colonel Mac Mahon was of opinion that the most proper, as well as the most satisfactory way of communicating to the said Mr Sparkes, the assurances required, was, that he the said Colonel Mac Mahon should order the proper officer in the office of the Duchy of Cornwall to communicate the necessary information to the said Mr Sparkes; whereupon this Deponent, approving of the said suggestion, accompanied the said Colonel Mac Mahon when he left his residence to go to the aforesaid Office for the purpose aforesaid, after which the said Mr. Sparkes, as this Deponent had good reason to believe and did and does believe, presented himself before the said Officer of the Duchy of Cornwall, from whom he, the said Mr Sparkes, as this Deponent believes, received satisfactory assurances of the said Annuity having been granted by his Royal Highness as aforesaid for and during His Royal Highness's life; that it was regularly paid every Quarter; that His Royal Highness consented to, and approved of the alienation thereof, and that it would be punctually paid there accordingly to the purchaser of the said Annuity. And this Deponent further saith that when the said Colonel Mac Mahon proposed that the assurances required by the said Mr Sparkes should be given him by the proper officer in the office aforesaid, he the said Colonel Mac Mahon remarked that his authorizing the said Officer to give the assurances required would have additional advantage of providing a certain Medium, through which any other person might obtain such assurances, in case the said Mr Sparkes should not ultimately become the purchaser of the said Annuity. And this Deponent further saith, that when the said Colonel Mac Mahon left his residence to go to the Office of the Duchy of Cornwall for the purpose aforesaid, he this Deponent walked with him as far as Charing Cross, where they were induced by a shower of rain to take shelter in a Hosier's Shop, and that whilst they were there, the said Colonel Mac Mahon devoted his attention to the perusal of a paper containing a statement then intended to be published by the said Samuel Chifney of which a Copy is hereunto annexed, and this Deponent further saith, that after the said Colonel Mac Mahon had read the said statement, he expressed his approbation of it in the strongest and most unequivocal terms.

The following is a copy of the Paper above alluded to the substance of which, but in stronger and more emphatical language, was afterwards published and sworn to before John Collick Esq^r, 13th March 1801, by Samuel Chifney, at which time he had sold, and ceased to have any Interest whatever in the said Annuity.

“Soon after this, Sir Charles Bunbury, as I have been informed, in consequence of the directions he received from the Prince, on his leaving Newmarket, wrote to His Royal Highness and enclosed my two affidavits informing him at the same time, that after the strictest investigation of all the circum-

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stances respecting the business, by himself and the other Stewards of the Jockey Club, they found that all the malicious reports circulated against me, were totally unfounded, and that no censure whatever could attach to me. Some time after the Prince's return from Brighton, I came up to London, when, being one day ordered into His Royal Highness's presence, he was graciously pleased in the presence of a Gentleman then with him, to express himself nearly in the following manner :

'Chifney, I am perfectly well satisfied with your conduct since you have rode for me, and I believe you have discharged your duty like an honest, faithful Servant, and altho' I shall have no further occasion for you, having ordered all my Horses to be sold, I have directed my Treasurer to continue during my life to pay you your present Salary of Two hundred a year.'

Language cannot describe my feelings on hearing this generous communication. I bowed and retired in silence, beseeching at the same time in my Heart the Almighty to pour down his choicest blessings on a Prince whose magnanimity and goodness of heart induced him graciously to condescend to give protection and support to an unfortunate injured Man, who but for this act of benevolence must otherwise have starved with his Wife and Children and who with them are bound to pray for such a generous benefactor.

So little is the truth of this transaction known, that at last Brighton Races, some young Gentlemen, members of the Jockey Club and others, hearing that with His Royal Highness's permission I was about to be employed to ride for the Nobleman I have now the honor of serving, expressed to this Nobleman and a Gentleman who is his intimate friend, their astonishment that they could think of suffering such a rogue as Chifney to ride their Horses, after having been disqualified by the Jockey Club from riding at Newmarket, in consequence of his having rode the Prince of Wales's Escape unfairly at that place, &c., &c. This was denied by the Nobleman's friend, who knew the fact to be otherwise. It was agreed however by the Parties to ask Sir Charles Bunbury, who was then at Brighton, and the next day they accidentally met him. The question was put to Sir Charles, who very candidly answered, that so far from being disqualified from riding, I was not even censured by the Jockey Club, but fully acquitted by the Stewards, who upon enquiry respecting my riding Escape unfairly, discovered the reports circulated against me to be entirely unfounded.

The stronger and more emphatical wording of what His Royal Highness said on the occasion, which as stated in the title or heading to the foregoing Paper, was sworn to afterwards by Samuel Chifney was as follows.

"His Royal Highness wished me to understand that the "Two hundred Guineas a year which he gave me, was for *his* life, and that he could not give it for *my own* life."

To which a *Nota Bene* is added as follows :

"N.B. Till now I thought it had been for my own " life, but I was the same satisfied."

Such are the precise terms, to the correctness of which Chifney made affidavit, as before described, when, as before stated, *he had no longer any Interest whatever in the said Annuity.*

APPENDIX G

PAPERS CONCERNING LORD DONEGAL

I

From COLONEL O'KELLY *to* LORD DONEGAL.

DONEGALL ARMS, BELFAST,

Sept. 10, 1814.

MY LORD,

Not having yet received any Communication from your Lordship relative to the reports which have been circulated to the disadvantage of my late father and myself during your residence in Ireland for the last 8 years, which reports, as you have been informed impute to us our having taken improper advantages of your Lordship in different transactions in the years 1794 & 1800 I desire that your Lordship will no longer delay to state what has been our conduct towards you upon all occasions & particularly at the periods alluded to,

I have the Honor to be &c.

A : D : O'KELLY.

II

From LORD DONEGAL *to* A. D. O'KELLY.

ORMEAN COTTAGE, *Sept.* 16, 1814.

SIR,

I have read your letter of the 10th instant, stating that reports to the disadvantage of your father and yourself had been circulated during my residence in Ireland for the last 8 years, which reports

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impute to you and your late father, having taken improper advantages of me in different transactions in the years 1794 & 1800, I beg leave to say that I never fabricated such reports and that they are altogether void of truth, as to the bills filed in chancery against your Father and yourself by my Trustees, Messrs. Agnew, Dashwood, McGeorge and Lyon they were contrary to my approbation & without my Consent, having always lived on the most intimate footing with you and conceiving you to be a man of the strictest Honor and integrity and which was the general opinion of the world when I first had the pleasure of your acquaintance, with regard to the stock which I purchased of your father the late Mr. Phillip O'Kelly I certainly never said there was any advantage taken of me, but declare that his conduct in that transaction as well as in respect to his account for the same was perfectly correct, and such as after full deliberation and reflection I gave him securities for, agreeable to that account. With respect to yourself I cannot but in common justice say that ever since I had the Honor of your acquaintance I believe you have done everything in your power to endeavour to promote the happiness of myself and family, and had your advice been taken, that I should not have been in the present situation I am, but free from Embarrassments and that you never took any advantage of me in any pecuniary transactions or otherwise since our acquaintance which I believe is upwards of twenty years.

I remain, sir,

Y^r obedient humble serv^t,

DONEGALL.

III

From COLONEL O'KELLY to the EARL OF MASSAREENE.

DONEGALL ARMS, BELFAST, 16 Sept. 1814.

MY LORD,

Lest your Lordship should not clearly have understood the object which I had in view in obtaining from the Marquis of Donegall a written document of the declarations he has upon all occasions made respecting the correct & honorable Conduct of my

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late father and myself as to every transaction between us, I beg leave to assure y^r Lordship that the object is to have it in my power to show such document to those of my friends who have heard the reports to our prejudice and not to take use of it as a legal Instrument satisfied, from what y^r Lordship has done me the honor to communicate to me, of Lord D.'s honorable Intentions towards me in the final arrangement of my claims.

I am, &c.,

A : D : O'KELLY.

IV

PART OF LORD DONEGAL ACCOUNT TO PHILIP O'KELLY

		£	s.	d.
1799.	To the Keep of a Brood Mare from the 23rd of May to the 7th of November at Grass	8	8	0
1800.	To the Keep of Recruits Dam from the 7th of September to the 1st of November, with a foal at her foot	3	4	0
	To the Keep of Do. from the 1st of November 1800 to the 15th of May 1801 At Hay &c. &c.	14	14	0
	To the Keep of Do. from the 15th of May 1801 to the 25th of October	9	8	0
	To the Keep of a Colt foal out of Recruits Dam from the 10th October 1800 to the 1st of May 1801	26	2	0
	To the Keep of Do. rising Two years old in a loose Stable, and Paddock, from the 1st of May to the 17th of September	21	0	0
	To the Keep of Do. from the 17th of September to the 25th of October	5	15	6
These two Colts were sent to Epsom on the 10th October 1800 to be broke and were brought back on the 17th December; the charge of their Keep, &c during the above period is charged in the Epsome Account.	} To the Keep of a Colt rising two years old a Brother to Vivaldi, from the 7th of September 1800 to the 10th of October, in a loose Stable and Paddock	5	5	0
	} To the Keep of a Colt rising Two years old, got by Precipitate, out of Recruits dam from the 7th of September to the 10th of October 1800, in a loose Stable, and Paddock	5	5	0
	To the Keep of a Precipitate Colt out of Equity rising Two years old, from the 7th of September 1800 to the 24th of April 1801	34	13	0

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	£	s.	d.
To the Keep of a Colt, Brother to Vivaldi from the 17th of December 1800 to the 17th of September 1801 in a loose Stable and Paddock	40	12	0
To the Keep of Do. from the 17th of September to the 25th October	5	15	6
To the Keep of a Precipitate Colt out of Recruits dam, from the 17th of December 1800 to the 25th of October 1801, in a loose Stable, and Paddock	46	7	6
To the Keep of a Precipitate filly from the 7th of September 1800 to the 15th of May 1801 in a loose Stable, and Paddock	16	4	0
To the Keep of a Bachus filly, from the 7th of September 1800 to the 15th of May 1801 in a loose Stable, and Paddock	16	4	0
To the Keep of the Precipitate filly rising three years old, from the 15th of May to the 25th of October	8	4	6
To the Keep of the Bachus filly from the 15th May, to the 25th of October	8	4	6
To the Keep of a Brood Mare (Betsey) from the 22nd of May to the 25th October	7	17	6
To the Keep of a Colt rising Two years old out of Betsey from the 2nd of June to the 25th of October in a loose Stable and Paddock	18	15	6
Paid a Man for taking a Bay Colt, out of Equity two years old, to Newmarket, his expenses, and the Keep of the Colt	3	3	0
Paid a Colt Breaker for Do. at Newmarket	2	2	0
Training Do. from the 3rd of May 1801, to the 25th of October	56	5	0
To the Keep of a Bay Horse (Antrim) from the 5th of August 1800 to the 5th of April 1801	36	9	0
To the Training of Do. from the 6th of April to the 18th of August 1801	42	15	0
To the Keep of Antrim from the 18th of August to the 25th of October 1801	10	10	0

V

COPY OF ACCOUNT AS REDUCED

The MARQUIS OF DONEGALL

D^r. to ANDREW DENNIS O'KELLY
as Administrator of PHILIP O'KELLY, *deceased*.

Estimating the Account as proposed by the Marquis, and receiving only double the original Sum as secured by a Post-obit Mortgage and Bond, viz :

	Instead of 7350 accepting 5300 £	£	s.	d.
1792.	To a Mare covered by Dungannon	21	0	0
1793.	To a Mare covered by Dungannon	21	0	0

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	<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d.</i>
To a Mare's keep from 15 Aug. 1792 to 25 Jan. 1794	26	8	0
For the Sweepstakes	10	10	0
1795. To a Mare covered by Dungannon	15	15	0
To a Mare covered by Anvil	10	10	0
To Cash paid Mr. Hancock Attorney for dec ^d	2	12	6
To a Mare's keep from 3 Feb. 1795 to 15 Nov. 1796	32	4	0
To a Mare's keep from 22 Ap ^l 1795 to 15 Nov. 1796	28	13	0
1796. To a Mare covered by Dungannon	15	15	0
To Cash paid for you to Lord Egremont	105	0	0
Due from a poney Race	21	0	0
To Cash paid for you to Sir F. Standish	52	10	0
To Cash paid to Mess ^{rs} J. Anson & Harpur for Bonds, post-obits and Leases	35	4	7
1799. Jan. 5. To post obit	5300	0	0
To interest on the above Sum from the 5th of January 1799 the day of the death of the late Marquis of Donegall to the 5th of May 1805 the day of the death of Mr. P. O'Kelly	1678	6	8
To two Bonds dated 22 Sept. 1794 for 550 <i>£</i> each	1100	0	0
To Int. thereon to 5 Jan. 1800	290	14	1
	1390	14	1
1800. Jan. 11th. By Cash received by two Dra ^{ts} due this day, accepted by the Marquis of Donegall's Bankers	1000	0	0
To Interest on the above balance from 5 Jan ^y 1800 to 5 May 1805	390	14	1
	104	0	0
Carried over	<i>£</i> 7871	2	10
Bro ^t over	<i>£</i> 7821	7	10
1799. June 5. Received on account a debenture of	<i>£</i> 1000	0	0
By Interest due thereon to 5 May 1805	295	16	8
	1295	16	8
	<i>£</i> 6525	11	2
1804. Paid the Costs of Suit instituted by yourself and Trustees in the Court of Chancery against the late P. O'Kelly Esq ^r to Mess ^{rs} Richards and Marnell, see their Bills	311	7	9
	6836	18	11
Yrs. Ms.			
Interest thereon to Sept. 5, 1814, 9 4	3190	12	0
	<i>£</i> 10027	10	11

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		£	s.	d.
Due to And. D. O'Kelly Esq. on his own Account, as follows,				
	Money secured upon Acco ^t signed June 1813	8196	12	2
	Interest on this Sum to Sept. 1814	2986	19	0
Sums omitted in the above signed Acco ^t viz :				
1791.	Cash lent to the Marquis at Chesterfield	21	0	0
1792.	Do. Do. at Derby	15	15	0
1796.	Do. Do.	20	0	0
1800.	Paid the amount of the first Execution	104	10	0
Sums omitted in the above Acco ^t , altho' the Items are inserted therein, viz :				
1799.	To the Stable-keeper at the bottom of Engine Street Piccadilly	45	0	0
1800.	Paid the Wages of the Boys under Sutton at Epsom	60	0	0
	To 30 Head of Deer at 4 G ^s per head	126	0	0
1801.	July. Cash to Chiffney	50	0	0
	Interest on these Sums to Sept. 1814	196	14	0
1814.	A year's Rent for premises at Epsom	105	0	0
	Further Dilapidations at Epsom	2650	0	0
		£24605 1 1		

VI

ADMINISTRATION OF PHILIP O'KELLY'S ESTATE BY

A. D. O'KELLY, 1792 TO 1817

		£	s.	d.
1792.	Paid to George Croking for Ld. Donegal	398	2	1
1794.	Purchase of horses	3750	0	0
Interest on above for 23 years and 3 months, with insurance and costs		7289	7	11
		£11437 10 0		

VII

AMONG ITEMS IN OTHER OF LORD BELFAST'S BILLS

TO THE O'KELLYS ARE, FROM 1799 TO 1802

		£	s.	d.
Wages paid for coachman hired for				
	Lady Belfast	27	0	0
	A black mare called Bell	52	10	0
	Sam Chifney's bill	209	0	0
	Paid Larken at Oxford	25	10	0
	Stakes for Trifle	10	10	0

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	£	s.	d.
30 head of deer sent from Cannons to West Wycombe Park		—	
The horse Wrangler	315	0	0
Cash at Brighton	35	0	0
Cash in London	20	0	0
A carriage for Lady Belfast, and coach- builder repairing same		—	
A coach-house at Wycombe	18	12	6
Paid you 30 gs. to return me 500 gs. every time you made a match at horse-racing or lost more at any one time at cards or otherwise than 200 gs., and which you have forfeited fifty times since	31	10	0

VIII

NOTES FROM VARIOUS MANUSCRIPTS

- [A] The Debts of the Marquis of Donegal to A. D. O'Kelly Administrator of Philip O'Kelly, amounted to over £37,000, in an account of their transactions from 1792 to 1816.
- [B] The Debts of Lord Donegall from 1791 to 1814 amounted to £617,524, for which judgment was given against him in the Courts of Exchequer, Common Pleas, and King's Bench. Among these occur £14,700 to Philip O'Kelly in 1794; £20,000 to W^m. Whaley in 1794, and another £12,000 in 1797; £6000 in 1803 to Edward May, to whom Andrew D. O'Kelly had to write for an apology, and another £5,800 in 1804; £627 19s. to Sir John Lade in 1806, and another £971 in 1811; W^m. Whaley had another debt of £4,337 owing in 1808, and assigned a debt of £630 (dated 1795) to "Arthur Guinness, Brewer."
- [C] In 1816 A. D. O'Kelly stated Lo. Donegall's debts to be (among others) Delapidations on Epsom Estate compromised at £4747, British-Irish £5142 11s. 8d., and Sparks' Annuity £4253, British-Irish £4607 8s. 4d.

APPENDIX H

TWO-PENNY POST-OFFICE

The enclosed has been opened by the proper Officer, and is returned to you for the Reason assigned thereon.

C. WALCOT, *Comptroller.*
E. JOHNSON, *Dep^y Comptroller.*

REGULATIONS.

There are Two Principal Offices, One in the General Post-Office Yard, Lombard Street, and the Other in Gerrard Street, Soho. There are, besides, numerous Receiving Houses for Letters, both in Town and Country.

There are SIX Collections and Deliveries of Letters in Town daily (Sundays excepted) and there are Two Dispatches *from* and Three Deliveries *at* most Places in the Country, within the Limits of this Office.

The Hours by which Letters should be put into the Receiving Houses in Town for each Delivery, are as follow:

For Delivery in TOWN.

	Delivery
Over Night by	8 o'Clock for the First
Morning	8 Second
,	10 Third
„	12 Fourth
Afternoon	2 Fifth
„	5 Sixth

For Delivery in the COUNTRY.

	Delivery
The preceding Evening by 5 o'Clock for the First	
Morning	8 Second
Afternoon	2 Third

But Letters, whether for Town or Country, may be put in at either of the Two Principal Offices Three Quarters of an Hour later for each Dispatch.

APPENDIX H

Letters put in on Saturday Evenings are delivered in the Country on Sunday Morning.

The dated Stamp, or if there are Two, that having the latest Hour, shews also the Time of the Day by which Letters are dispatched for Delivery from the Principal Offices.

The Postage of a Letter from any Part of this Delivery, to any other Part of it, whether Town or Country, as also the Postage of this Office on each Letter passing to or from the General or Foreign Post-Offices, is Two-pence.

The Two-penny Postage of all Letters, such as are for Parts out of His Majesty's Dominions excepted, may or may not be paid at putting in, at the Option of the Senders.

No Two-penny Post Letter must weigh more than Four Ounces.

The Delivery of this Office includes all Places within the following Circle, which is also inclusive.

In KENT—Woolwich; Plumstead; Shooter's Hill; Eltham; Mottingham; South-End; Lewisham; Beckenham; and Sydenham.

In SURRY—Croydon; Beddington; Carshalton; Mitcham; Morden; Merton; Wimbledon; Ham; Petersham; and Richmond.

In MIDDLESEX and HARTS—Twickenham; Teddington; Hampton; Sunbury; Whitton; Isleworth; Brentford; Ealing; Hanwell; Wembly; Willsdon; Kingsbury; The Hyde; Mill Hill; Highwood Hill; Totteridge; Whetstone; East Barnet; Southgate; Winchmore Hill; and Enfield.

In ESSEX—Chinkford; Loughton; Chigwell and Row; Barking Side; Chadwell; and Barking.

Cash, in Gold or Silver, or other Articles of Value enclosed in Letters (Notes or Drafts for Money excepted) to be mentioned to the Office-keeper at putting in; but Bank Notes or others, payable to Bearer, to be cut in Half, and the Second Part not to be sent till the Receipt of the First is acknowledged.

This Office is not liable to make good the Loss of any Property sent by Post.

Persons having Occasion to complain of Delay in the Delivery of their Letters, are requested to send the Covers inclosed, in a Line to the Comptroller or Deputy-Comptroller, stating the precise Time of Delivery; as the dated Stamp will assist materially in discovering where the Neglect lies.

It is respectfully requested, that Persons receiving Letters will not detain the Letter Carriers at their Doors longer than can be possibly avoided.

N.B. Letters for this Delivery are frequently by Mistake put into the General Post, by which Means they are unavoidably delayed; it is therefore recommended that they be put into the Two-penny Post-Offices or Receiving Houses, in order that they may be regularly forwarded by their proper Conveyance.

November 20, 1804.

PRINTED BY HENRY TEAPE, TOWER HILL, FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONARY-OFFICE.

The above is endorsed as follows:—

“ Mr Rally

77 Piccadilly.

My letter to Mr. Craven, directed as he desired but refused to be taken in.
April 1805.”

APPENDIX J

ANDREW O'KELLY'S DIARY—THE BURIAL OF NELSON—JANUARY 1-13, 1806

1st. Went to Cannons in the Chaise with James—saw all the families. Went to Wood's Cottage—his wife and Mrs Pollicat [?] preparing a dinner for the workpeople *without my orders*. Gave him an order to send ten sheep to Lord Ranelagh. Gave Mrs Mordark [?] five pounds on account of Wages and Board. Brought a Gown to Charlotte Wood. Returned to town, saw my own family with affection. Went to Mr Ankin [?] to dinner. Const, Doct. Cock, and Mrs F. Ankin of the Party staid supper.

2nd. Went to Piccadilly, afterwards to Cannons. Drank tea and spent the evening at Mrs Burshall's [?] with all the neighbourhood who were invited to a Dance. I declined dancing till after supper, and then only a minuet & *jig* with Rebecca. Plaid at Cards. Mrs Burshall's little Girl to whom I was to stand godfather, was christen'd privately by Mr Devile before I arrived.

3rd. Staid at Cannons but did not go out of the House, it being a very wet day, the whole of which I was occupied arranging Papers out of the Iron Chest. Received a message from Col. Lindsay that he would be at Home from 11 till 2 o'clock the next day and would be glad to see me. [—] at Home. Gave a Draft for £2 13s. 1d. to the Poor in the Almshouse of Whitchurch.

4th. Saw Col. Lindsay, informed him that several letters had been address'd to him by Mr Richards & Mr Morgan his own Solicitor, neither of whom had received any answer, and that my only business with him was to request he would send an answer

APPENDIX J

immediately to Mr Morgan which would determine the line of conduct I should pursue respecting the money due to me, as I had made such an offer that no man of honor or principal could refuse. He said he had not heard of it, but in a few minutes conversation he admitted he had, and that he was given to understand that I expected him to pay a Rent for the House which he declared he never would. I instantly got up and observed that if that was his determination after all my forbearance and the many sacrifices I had made to prevent litigation, I was sorry I had suffered myself to be trifled with so long ; that as this declaration put an end to all further treaty on the subject between us, I should now proceed without further delay, and wishing him a good morning I immediately left the house and went over to Mr Burshall to request he would inform me of the least offensive mode of distraining for the Rent as I was determined to do so immediately ; but Mr Burshall being from home I went to Cannons, and whilst the Horse was putting to, Col. Lindsay call'd in his way to the priory to request I would meet him and his attorney at Mr Richards on Tuesday at 4, which I declined but consented to wait till after that day in order to give his attorney another opportunity of settling the business with Mr Richards. I proceeded immediately to town. Met Mr Burshall on the Road who invited me to dine with him the next day. Arrived in town at five, dressed and went to Doct^r Cock's to dinner, Const, Ankin.

The Doct^r went out for an hour. Mr. Ankin and I went to join his family at the Play at Covent Garden, *Eliza* there for the first time. Mr Ankin and I went to the Percy [?] to meet Const and the Doct^r. Gave a draught for five pounds.

5th. Call'd at Mr Atkinson's, not at home.

Went to Edgware to dine with Mr Burshall, only the family at dinner, communicated everything to him respecting Col. Lindsay's conduct, which he said could not on any principal be defended ; he promised to see him the next morning and advise him to agree to the terms I proposed. Went up to Cannons for the agreements which I shewed with Col. Lindsay's first letter to Mr James which convinced Mr B. that all I had stated on the subject was correct. Call'd upon the Newgents, mentioned the business to them and returned to town at 12 o'clock.

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

6th. Call'd at Mr Atkinson's; they were gone out. Saw Miss A., staid with her an Hour, *an interesting conversation*. Promised to procure Tickets for them to see Lord Nelson's Funeral; received a note from Mr Atkinson on the subject, call'd upon him soon after and found them at dinner; promised to call in the morning. Went to dinner with Mr Richards; Const Morgan Pedder and 3 other gentlemen of the party with Mrs Richards, staid till 11, went to the Percy with Const.

7th. Called upon Mr Atkinson, informed him I had procured places for him at Somerset House to see the Remains of Lord Nelson brought by water to Whitehall stairs. He ordered his Carriage and we went accompanied by Norton (who Mr A. had sent for to prepare a proper dress to go with us to S^t Paul's on Thursday) to the Herald's office for our Tickets, which we got, and Mr Bickland promised to have ready for me (at the request of Lord Ranelagh) 4 more by 6 in the evening. Return'd with Mr Atkinson to the Strand, where we set Norton down and proceeded to the Globe insurance office where Mr Atkinson paid £75 to Mr Denham for a Policy of insurance on his House No. 1 Harley Street for seven years. He set me down in Oxford Street. I called at Fladden's Hotel, saw Will Ingram, talked to him about the dear Eliza his sister, whom he had not seen for two years, and was affraid to write to her, but now that he had a subject to write upon which he knew would please her he would do it directly and shew me her answer. Went to Mr Richard's, found him, Col. Lindsay & his Solicitor in debate on the Subject of our concerns which ended in their proposing an arbitration which Richards thought might be put in a way to prevent further litigation, to which I readily consented. Went to S^t Paul's to hear the rehearsal of the Music for the interment of Lord Nelson, saw Mr Bickland & Mr Bishop the King's proctor, promised to meet him at the Percy; called at Somerset House upon Mrs Frodsham the Housekeeper, who very obligingly at the instance of her four fine Daughters gave me 2 Tickets of admission for Messrs Atkinson & Ankin's families, and having in conversation said that she was distressed in being disappointed in particular provisions for the entertainment of her friends the next day, I without her knowledge went to Bridgman's and ordered a Guinea twelfth Cake to be sent to her early the next

APPENDIX J

morning. Went to the Percy, gave Mr Ankin his Ticket, staid ill 2, supped and went to bed.

8th. Call'd on the Atkinsons. He ordered the Carriage to be ready at 12 to take us to Somerset House. I went there to ascertain the Hour the Procession was likely to pass by when Mrs Frodsham politely press'd me to bring the Ladies to her apartments which I promised to do. Saw Mr Cobb; called at the [—] and got a mourning sword for Mr Atkinson, return'd to his House at $\frac{1}{4}$ past one but he was gone leaving a message for me that he had waited an hour and was gone to the first invitation he had received. I return'd to Mr Ankin's, found them getting into the carriage. The Ladies went on to Mrs Frodsham's and Mr Ankin and I follow'd on foot. Most kindly received by the family and elegantly entertain'd, upwards of forty in the party; saw Miss Brack on the Terrace, to whom Mr Bouvery gave two Tickets for S^t Paul's. Returned after seeing the procession with Mr Ankin in my Chaise—a violent storm of Hail. Call'd on the Atkinsons; they explained the cause of their going before I returned; gave them two Tickets for S^t Paul's which they afterwards gave to Norton to be sent to the God-freys, they having received two from the Bishop of Lincoln. Returned to Mr Ankin to dinner, delivered a message to Miss Ankin from Mrs Atkinson requesting the pleasure of her company to S^t Paul's which her father at length consented she should accept, gave her a Ticket and sent two others to Mr Farquar of Portland Place. Call'd at the Percy, got an order from Mr Hewit the Banker for 4 Places at a Hatter's in Ludgate Hill to see the Procession, return'd to Mr Ankin with them. Call'd at the Atkinsons to inform them Miss Ankin would go to S^t P.

9th. Up at 5, Dress'd and went to Mr Atkinson's to Breakfast with Norton and a Mr [—]. Went to Hide park at Seven (We were the first Carriage) few in the Park till 8 o'clock when the Heron [?] Carriage arrived and drove up before ours—soon after the four Eldest Captains, viz.: Alezander Hood Gardener &c. in a mourning Coach drove up alongside of us. I conversed with Gardener &c. O'Laughland commanded one detachment of the Horse Guards and Stewart the other in the Park. The Duke of Kent pass'd to Carlton House at 9 o'clock, the D. of York arrived in the Park attended by all the staff soon after and gave directions

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

for the orders in which the carriages were to proceed; we were ordered to move first, but, expecting Lord Nelson's Carriage to go on, 6 or 8 carriages who were also ordered to move on drove before us; we then followed and halted near the Princes Gate who in about half an Hour came out of His Mews attended by seven carriages and six belonging to his Brothers who were not on Horse Back. I conversed with Col. Piggot who commanded the 14th Light Dragoons situated near the Mews.

The Troops Horse & Foot to the amount of 7 or 8 thousand on The Parade now began to file off, a most beautiful sight, and at 12 we pass'd through the Horse Guards and proceeded in Procession to S^t Paul's where we alighted and Took our Post at the head of the Esq^{rs} and next to the Herald and the oldest Captⁿ who carried the standard. It was most Piercing Cold until we got into the Cathedral and we were an Hour before we moved farther than the Dome. There we Halted until the Corpse arrived; the Prince, who was extremely affected, was conducted into the vestry where he waited the arrival of the Body, which as soon as it was announced he with the Bishops returned to the West gate and fell into the Procession which now moved slowly on to the Choir.

The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen first took their seats and occupied all the stalls on the North side of the Choir; the Bishop of Lincoln, the Dean of S^t Paul's seated himself in the center stall on the South side opposite the Lord Mayor; the Nobility were next conducted on each side of him, but to my utter astonishment and to the everlasting disgrace of those who had the arranging of the places, none were provided for the Prince and his six brothers who were left standing in the middle of the Choir looking about to see where they could sit down, until at last a young man dress'd in black, who I afterwards understood was Sir Isaac Herd's Clerk, went up to the Prince and told him he would conduct him to his seat but he certainly did not know where that seat was having led the Prince up and down the Choir and at length placed him in the upper stall on the same side the Bishop sat on; the Duke of York and Clarence followed the Prince seeing two or three vacant seats next to where the Prince was placed, the Duke of Clarence took one of them and the Duke of York was returning to his other brothers who were still looking round them to see where they should go, but the Prince call'd to the

APPENDIX J

Duke of York who return'd and took the other unoccupied seat next the Prince ; and this young man then pointed to two small seats at each side of the door to which the four brothers return'd two on each side, the Duke of Sussex and Duke of Kent in the one on the right coming into the Choir and the Duke of Cumberland and Duke of Cambridge in the one on the left. The Naval officers were conducted to the seats in the Body of the Choir, and all the General Officers and staff attending upon the Princes were left standing near the Door until the Prince seeing them in this situation beckoned to them to come on, which they immediately did in a body and placed themselves opposite the Prince but did not sit down until the Service began. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen kept their seats and quietly looked on at this extraordinary conduct, which shocked me so much that I immediately left the Gallery appropriated for the foreign Ambassadors, (into which Mr Atkinson, Mr Lubbock, the Banker, with two other gentlemen and myself were conducted by mistake) and went down to one of the Heralds who during the course of the day was particularly attentive to me and my party, pointed out to him what I had observed and asked him the cause of such neglect to the Royal party ; he express'd the most marked disapprobation of it, and said it was all Sir I. Herd's fault, who not being able to attend himself neglected to appoint one of the Heralds who of course were the proper persons to officiate for him, but left the whole of the business to his Clerk who was the cause of the procession being delayed two hours longer than it was necessary in the Park. Mr Sheridan who was close by me and overheard this conversation, observed to me that he never was more shocked in his life to see the Prince and his brothers treated with so much neglect, particularly by the Lord Mayor &c.

The Bishop now proceeded with the Service which lasted about an hour and three quarters in the Choir, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen as before proceeded first to the grave where seats were provided for them. The Princes with the Bishops and other Dignatories of S' Paul's and the Nobility followed and placed themselves opposite the Lord Mayor but remained on foot, the Corpse under a Canopy followed by the Rest of the Procession was now brought to the grave prepared in the Center of the Dome and placed on a machine over the grave ; then the Bishop from a Desk,

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

prepared at the head of the grave for him and the other Dignatories, read the funeral service and the requiem was sung by the whole quire accompanied by every person provided with a Book who had the power of utterance. I tried (with the Prince and some of his Brothers who were deeply affected) to *cry it* as well as I could, for my Heart was then, as it is now, so deeply affected that it was ready to burst. For surely never was and most probably never will again be witnessed so magnificently grand, sublime and affecting a spectacle, and never did exist a man who so well deserved the unexampled Honors paid to his remains. May the Almighty God who in his great goodness crown'd his efforts in the service of his King and Country with unparell'd success, grant him a Crown of Glory in the Regions of bliss. Whilst the Requiem was singing the Machine upon which the Coffin was laid was so constructed as to sink almost imperceptibly into the grave through the stone work, and on its being arrived at the bottom the Heralds broke their staves and threw them into the grave which closed the ceremony.

The eight sailors of the *Victory* who carried the Bier and the one who carried the Ensign of the *Victory* which was to have been dropped into the grave wept most bitterly, and instead of disposing of the Ensign as it was intended, they, at the request of the People, who got to the grave as soon as the Princes retired, cut it to Pieces and distributed it amongst them, particularly to some of the Soldiers of the 42^d Reg^t who had with them the [] taken from the []. A Trap door that was fitted to the grave was now shut, and the whole of Company retired in sorrowful silence. Mr Atkinson and myself got Mrs and Miss Atkinson, with Miss Ankin down from their seats and after being joined by Messrs Norton & Dyer, we all got into Mr Atkinson's Coach (which the Duke of Norfolk who was standing at the Door pointed out to us where it was) and return'd to Mr Atkinson's to Dinner first having left Miss Ankin at home. After Dinner I went to the Percy and staid with Mr Ankin till 2 o'clock, and after setting him down in a Coach at his own house, return'd home to bed.

10th. Mr Mrs and Miss Atkinson call'd upon me and Mrs A. put into my hand five pounds and requested that I would send it to Mr Kent's family at Edgware whom I informed her the day before were in distress. Call'd in Piccadilly, dined at Leister square, call'd

APPENDIX J

in Jerrard St., saw Richards resp^s Lindsay, altered the term of the arbitration.

Went to the Percy, found Ankin, Const, Doc^r and Cock, talked of Mrs Atkinson's bounty, the Doct^r spoke of the Kents & the Gore S^t school, got one pound from Const and another from Ankin for the Kents.

11th. Dined at home, Sir E. Butler call'd, informed me he could not see Ryan and was obliged to return to the Reg^t, but promised to come back on the 15th and finally settle. Went to the Percy, met Ankin, the Doct^r and Brand; the Doct^r very severe on Brand being a little cut. Ankin invited the Doct^r and I to dine the next day and to go with me if it was fine to Cannons.

12th. Did not go out till I went to Ankings to dinner. Const came at ten in the evening and we all staid supper. Const invited me in going home to dine with him the next day. The morning being wet Mr Ankin did not come. I wrote a letter to Mrs Kent, enclosed her ten pounds, and sent James with it on Horseback to Edgware. He returned to Mr Ankin, informing me he put it into Mr Kent's hands, but brought no answer from him—but a note from Mr Andersons inviting me to dinner on Thursday next.

13th. Call'd in Piccadilly at Mr Bonner's; at the Bankers saw Mr Middleton; spoke to him about Lindsay who he promised to write to, to take up his bill for £200 overdue ten months or more; got from him Captⁿ Best's Bill whose furniture is to be sold by auction to-morrow, spoke to him about Ryan's Debt to the House; he agreed at my recommendation to take the security Ryan offer'd and to pay it by instalments of £300 p. annum till the Debt was paid. I observed that I would take mine in the same way if I could not make a better arrangement with Sir E. Butler who was also liable to pay me having receiv'd the money in a most dishonourable way (as Ryan has stated in writing to me) for my acceptance, which Ryan states he only confided to his care and which was to have been returned to me; but they are both implicated as Ryan broke his word of honour to me in suffering it to go out of his hands before he return'd it, and Butler declares he gave him part of the money! From such men God defend me. Promised to get Mr Middleton a Box at Drury Lane to see the [] on Thursday. Call'd on Richards, consented in consequence of a conversation he

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

had with Mr Burshall respecting Lindsay that he should name a sum for the House and 12 acres for the remainder of the Term of 21 years which I fixed at £80, and which is less even than what Arbuck [?] paid for the House.

Dined with Const, J. Johnson; and Major Downs, of the S James Volunteers, came in before we were half done dinner. At 7 o'clock I went to S^t James to meet Ryan, communicat'd to him what pass'd between me and Butler whom he much abused, appointed to meet him on Wednesday evening in the City and bring Butler with me if he return'd at six o'clock; communicated what I had done for him with Mr Middleton, he felt much obliged; return'd to Const and party, drank a good deal of wine, staid after the

APPENDIX K

A NEWGATE CONFESSION

NEWGATE

20 *Sep*^r 1813

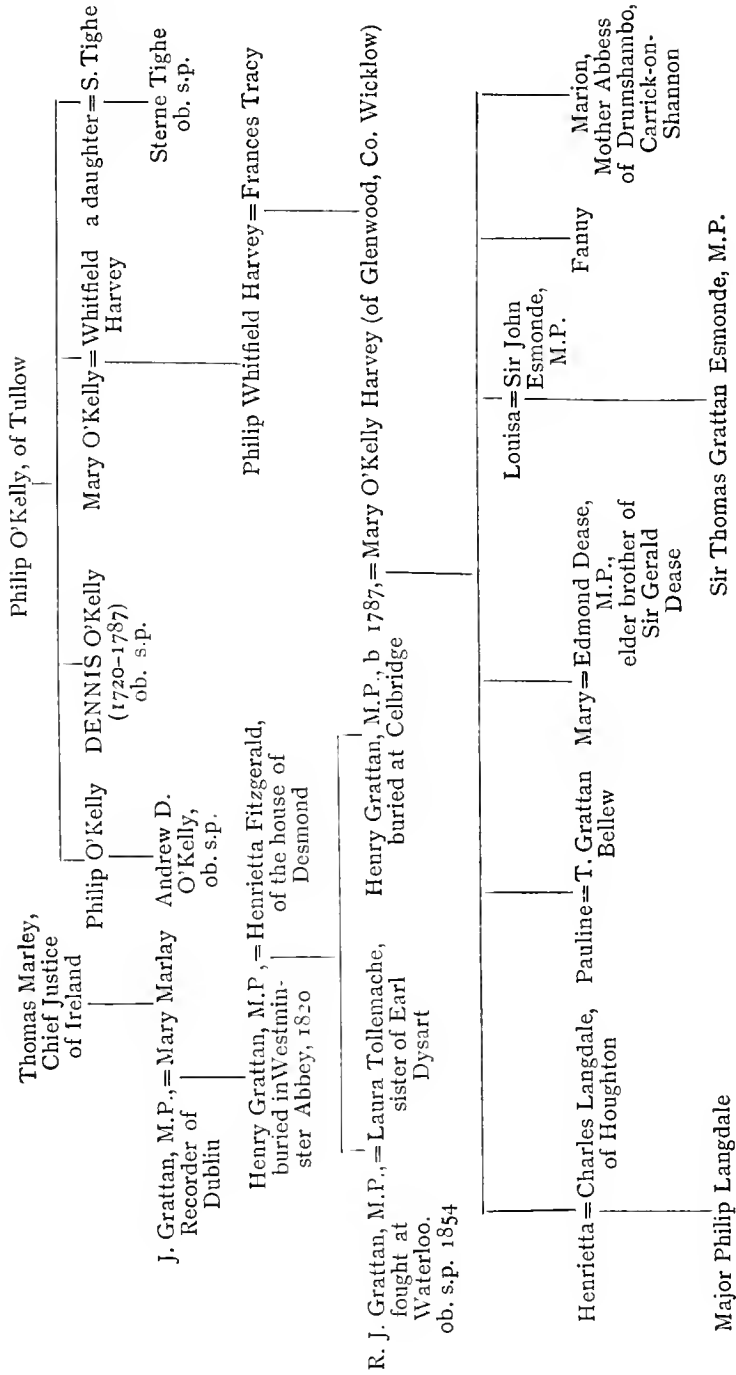
I James Leary having received the Sacrament & being now on the brink of eternity do hereby most solemnly declare that although I was present I did not commit the murder of Clifford.

(Signed) JAMES LEARY.

Sent to A. D. O'KELLY

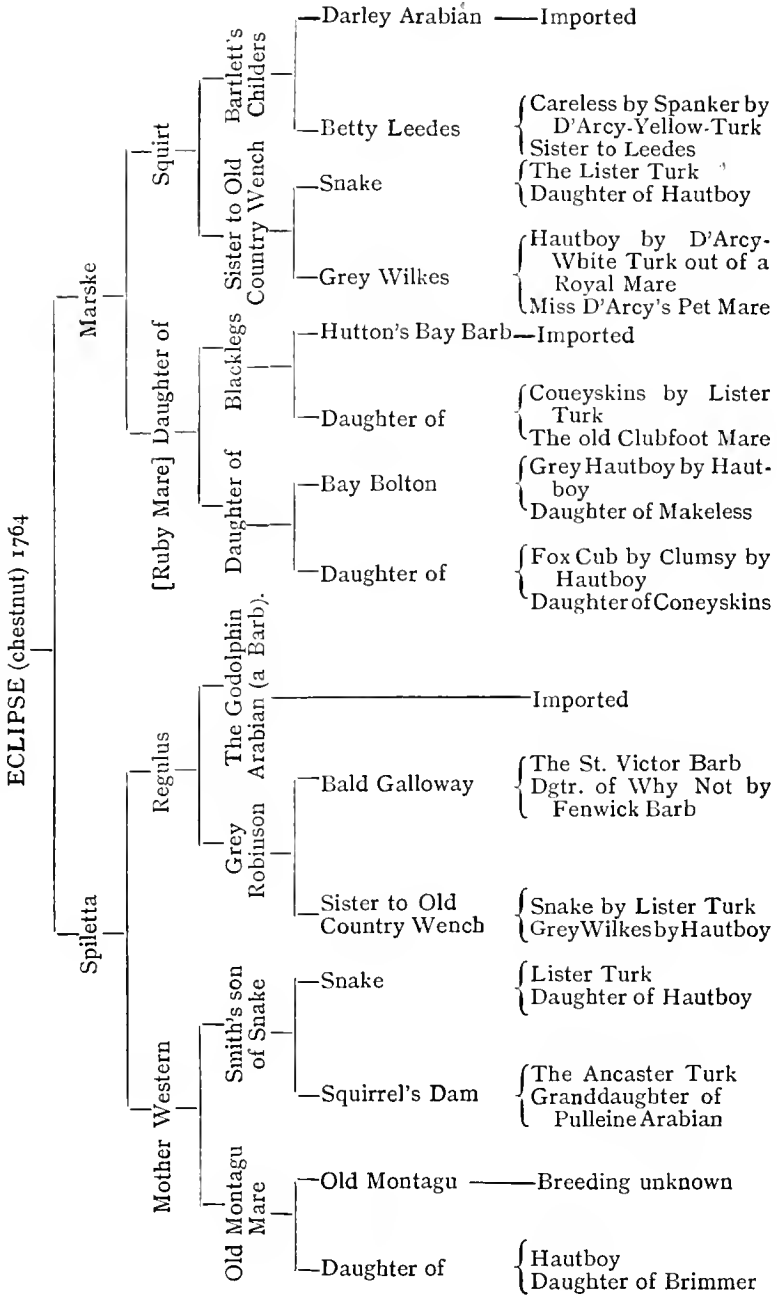
in Half-Moon Street, on Sep^r 15 1813 with a letter from "James O'Brien, R.C. Curate, Lismore," in answer to O'Kelly's inquiries as to whether one Slattery received the Sacrament before leaving Ireland, and had his parents' permission; and concerning "that unfortunate female Mrs. Burke who associated with the more unfortunate Clifford who, as we read in the papers, was brutally murdered."

APPENDIX L
THE O'KELLY FAMILY



APPENDIX M

APPENDIX M
ECLIPSE'S PEDIGREE



APPENDIX N

THE produce by Eclipse won as follows, viz :

				£	s.	
In 1774	...	1	Winner won	...	210 0	
1775	...	9	Winners won	...	3,269 5	
1776	...	15	„	...	6,418 15	
1777	...	17	„	...	8,986 0	
1778	...	23	„	...	9,410 10	
1779	...	29	„	...	7,726 5	
1780	...	28	„	...	10,637 0	
1781	...	26	„	...	11,539 10	
1782	...	31	„	...	12,893 15	
1783	...	29	„	...	13,914 5	
1784	...	16	„	...	13,280 8	
1785	...	21	„	...	8,961 5	
1786	...	18	„	...	14,604 10	
1787	...	19	„	...	15,288 5	
1788	...	15	„	...	9,218 17	
1789	...	14	„	...	4,417 5	
1790	...	13	„	...	4,022 5	
1791	...	10	„	...	1,744 10	
1792	...	5	„	...	656 10	
1793	...	1	Winner won	...	200 0	
1794	...	2	Winners won	...	431 0	
1795	...	1	Winner won	...	112 12	
1796	...	1	„	...	105 0	
In 23 years				344	Winners won	£158,047 12

To the above sums must also be added the following :

In 1779, at Newmarket, the Clermont cup and subscription, also the October cup, by Lord Grosvenor's Pot8os.

1779, at Salisbury, the City silver bowl, by Sir H. Featherstone's Empress.

APPENDIX N

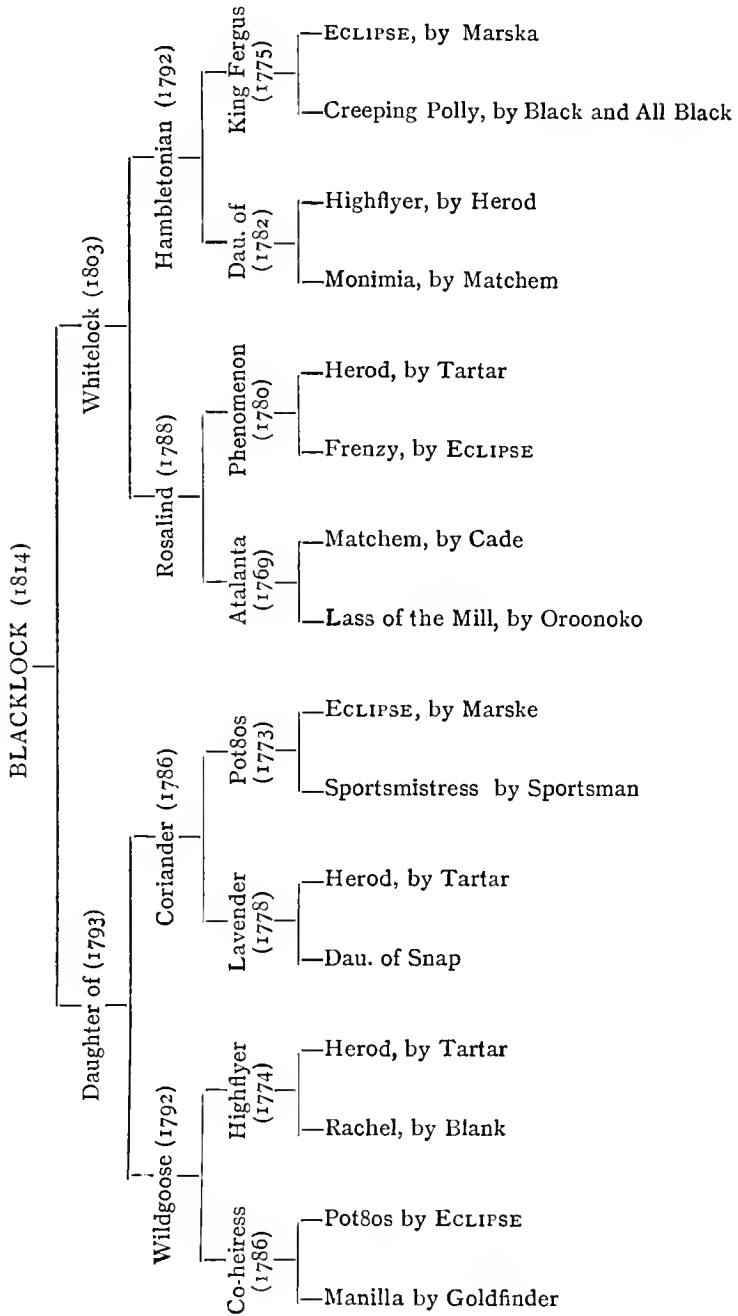
- 1780, at Newmarket, the Clermont cup and subscription, the Jockey Club plate, and the whip, by Lord Grosvenor's Pot80s.
- 1781, at Newmarket, the Jockey Club plate, and the whip, by Lord Grosvenor's Pot80s.
- 1781, at Epsom, Mr. O'Kelly's Young Eclipse received a forfeit.
- 1782, at Newmarket, the Clermont cup, and Jockey Club plate, by Lord Grosvenor's Pot80s.
- 1783, at Newmarket, the whip, by Pot80s.
- 1785, at Oxford, a sweepstakes, by Mr. O'Kelly's General.
- 1786, at Newmarket, the whip, by Mr. O'Kelly's Dungannon.
- 1788, at Newmarket, the Jockey Club plate, by Mr. O'Kelly's Gunpowder.
- 1789, at Newmarket, the Jockey Club plate, by Lord Grosvenor's Meteor.

The best known of Eclipse's sons and daughters were :

Alexander	General	Princess
Anna	Gunpowder	Queen Mab
Annette	Horatia	Ruth
Augusta	Isabella	Saltram
Bobtail	Javelin	Scota
Boudrow	Joe Andrews	Sergeant
Crassus	Jupiter	Tiffany
Don Quixote	King Fergus	Venus
Dungannon	Madcap	Volunteer
Everlasting	Mercury	Xantippe
Empress	Meteor	Young Eclipse
Fanny	Miss Harvey	Zara
Firetail	Pegasus	Zilia
Frenzy	Pot80s	

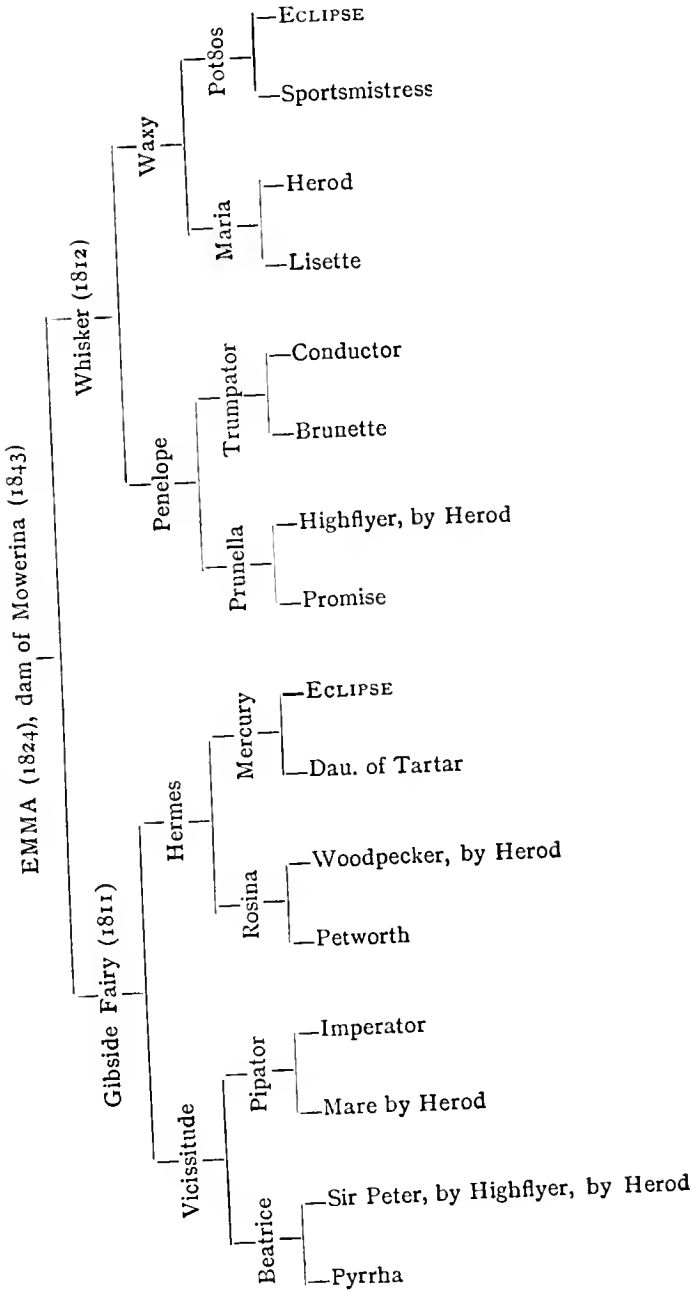
ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

APPENDIX O BLACKLOCK'S PEDIGREE



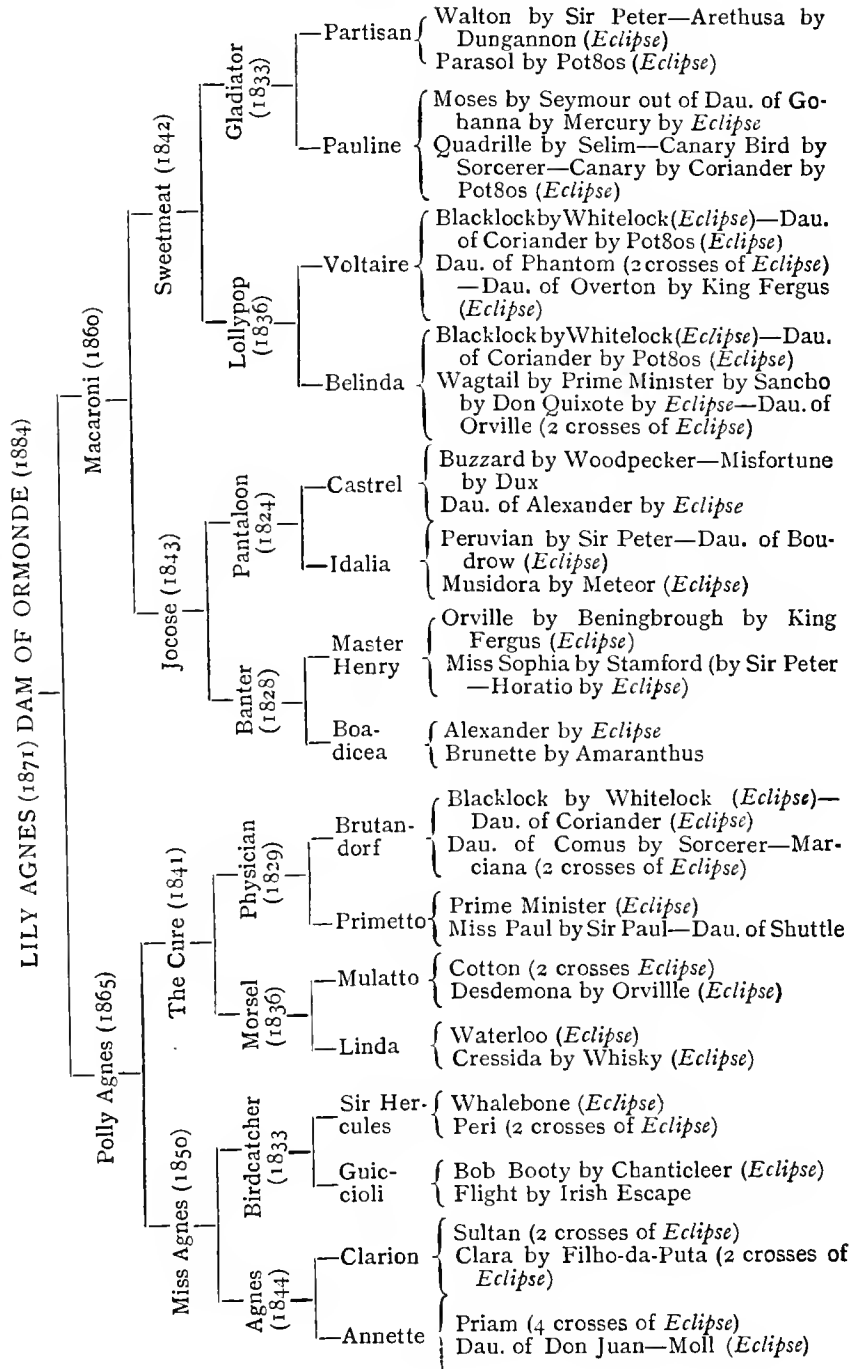
APPENDIX O

EMMA'S PEDIGREE



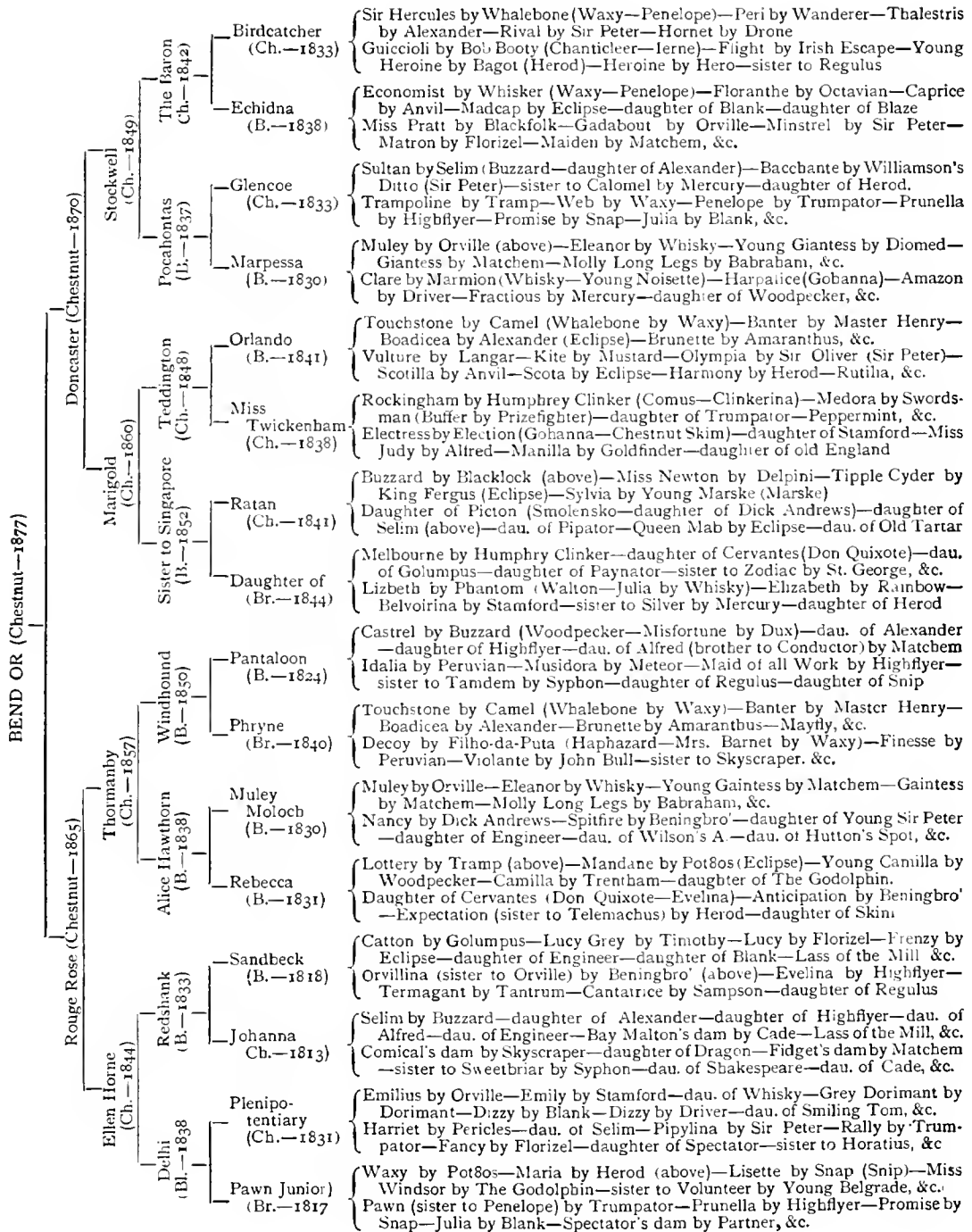
ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

LILY AGNES' PEDIGREE



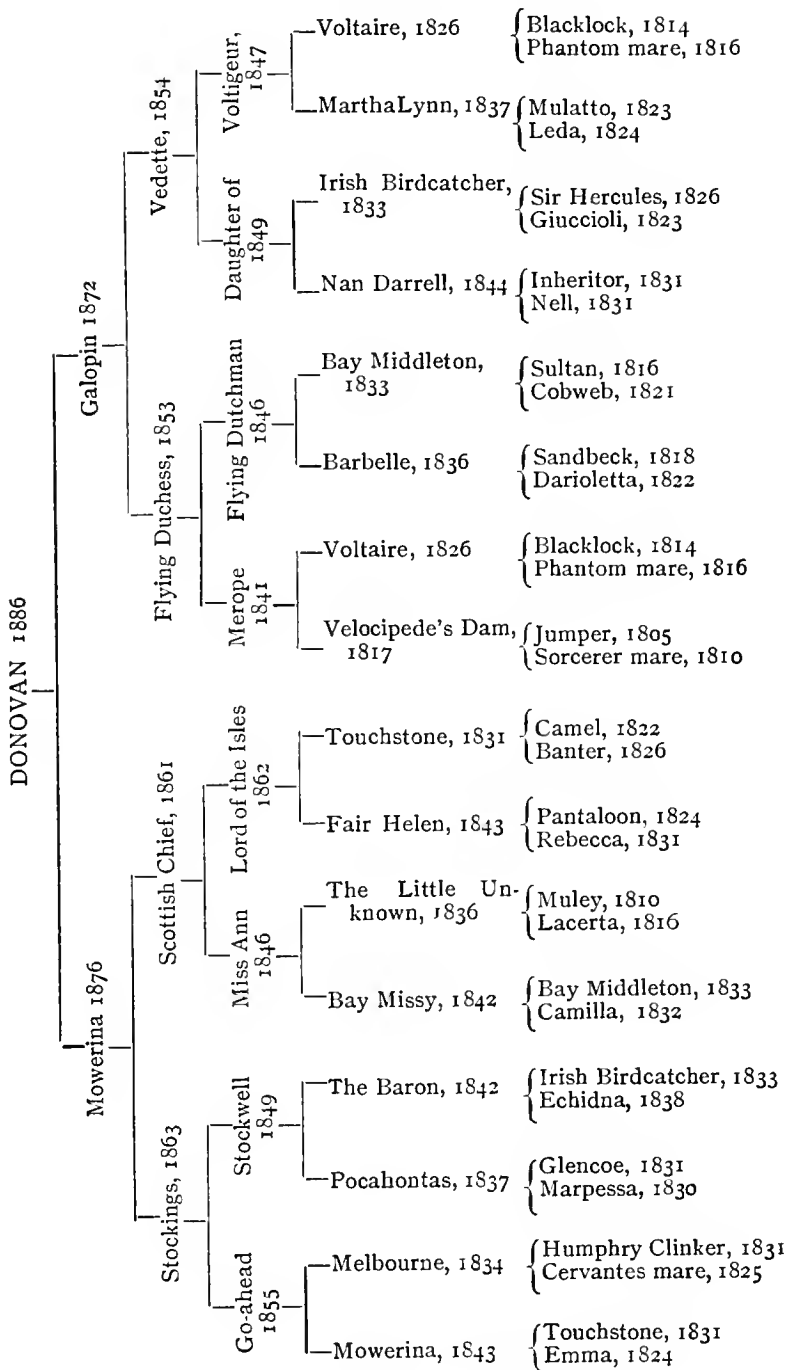
APPENDIX O

BEND OR'S PEDIGREE



ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

DONOVAN'S PEDIGREE



APPENDIX P

WINNERS OF THE DERBY TRACING TO ECLIPSE, MATCHEM, HEROD, ETC.

	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Winner</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
1780	Sir C. Bunbury	Diomed	Florizel	Herod
1781	Col. O'Kelly	Y. Eclipse	Eclipse	Eclipse
1782	Ld. Egremont	Assassin	Sweetbriar	<i>Squirt</i> (grand- sire of Eclipse)
1783	Mr. Parker	Saltram	Eclipse	Eclipse
1784	Col. O'Kelly	Sergeant	"	"
1785	Ld. Clermont	Aimwell	Marc Antony	<i>Spectator</i> and <i>Crab</i>
1786	Mr. Panton	Noble	Highflyer	Herod
1787	Lord Derby	Sir Peter Teazle	"	"
1788	Prince of Wales	Sir Thomas	Pontac	<i>Marske</i> (sire of Eclipse)
1789	D. of Bedford	Skyscraper	Highflyer	Herod
1790	Ld. Grosvenor	Rhadamanthus	Justice	"
1791	D. of Bedford	Eager	Florizel	Herod
1792	Ld. Grosvenor	John Bull	Fortitude	"
1793	Sir F. Poole	Waxy	Pot8os	Eclipse
1794	Ld. Grosvenor	Dædalus	Justice	Herod
1795	Sir F. Standish	Spread Eagle	Volunteer	Eclipse
1796	"	Didelot	Trumpator	Matchem
1797	D. of Bedford	colt by	Fidget	Herod
1798	Mr. Cookson	Sir Harry	Sir Peter	Herod
1799	Sir F. Standish	Archduke	"	"
1800	Mr. Wilson	Champion	Pot8os	Eclipse
1801	Sir C. Bunbury	Eleanor	Whisky	"
1802	D. of Grafton	Tyrant	Pot8os	"
1803	Sir H. Williamson	Ditto	Sir Peter	Herod
1804	Ld. Egremont	Hannibal	Driver	<i>Trentham</i> (by Sweepstakes)
1805	"	Cardinal Beau- fort	Gohanna	Eclipse

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Winner</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
1806	Ld. Foley	Paris	Sir Peter	Herod
1807	Ld. Egremont	Election	Gohanna	Eclipse
1808	Sir H. Williamson	Pan	St. George	Herod
1809	D. of Grafton	Pope	Waxy	Eclipse
1810	”	Whalebone	”	”
1811	Sir J. Kelly	Phantom	Walton	Herod
1812	Mr. Ladbroke	Octavius	Orville	Eclipse
1813	Sir C. Bunbury	Smolensko	Sorcerer	Matchem
1814	Ld. Stawell	Blucher	Waxy	Eclipse
1815	D. of Grafton	Whisker	”	”
1816	D. of York	Prince Leopold	Hedley	”
1817	Mr. Payne	Azor	Selim	Herod
1818	Mr. Thornhill	Sam	Scud	Eclipse
1819	D. of Portland	Tiresias	Soothsayer	Matchem
1820	Mr. Thornhill	Sailor	Scud	Eclipse
1821	Mr. Hunter	Gustavus	Election	”
1822	D. of York	Moses	Whalebone or Seymour	Herod
1823	Mr. Udney	Emilius	Orville	Eclipse
1824	Sir J. Shelley	Cedric	Phantom	Herod
1825	Ld. Jersey	Middleton	”	”
1826	Ld. Egremont	Lapdog	Whalebone	Eclipse
1827	Ld. Jersey	Mameluke	Partisan	Herod
1828	D. of Rutland	Cadland	Andrew	Eclipse
1829	Mr. Gratwicke	Frederick	Little John	”
1830	Mr. Chifney	Priam	Emilius	”
1831	Ld. Lowther	Spaniel	Whalebone	”
1832	Mr. Ridsdale	St. Giles	Tramp	”
1833	Mr. Sadler	Dangerous	”	”
1834	Mr. Bateson	Plenipotentiary	Emilius	”
1835	Mr. Bowes	Mundig	Catton	”
1836	Ld. Jersey	Bay Middleton	Sultan	Herod
1837	Ld. Berners	Phosphorus	Lamplighter	”
1838	Sir G. Heathcote	Amato	Velocipede	Eclipse
1839	Mr. W. Ridsdale	Bloomsbury	Mulatto	”
1840	Mr. Robertson	Little Wonder	Muley	”
1841	Mr. Rawlinson	Coronation	Sir Hercules	”
1842	Col. Anson	Attila	Colwick	Herod
1843	Mr. Bowes	Cotherstone	Touchstone	Eclipse
1844	Gen. Peel	Orlando	”	”
1845	Mr. Gratwicke	Merry Monarch	Slane	”
1846	Mr. Gully	Pyrrhus the First	Epirus	Herod
1847	Mr. Pedley	Cossack	Hetman Platoff	Eclipse
1848	Ld. Clifden	Surplice	Touchstone	Eclipse
1849	Ld. Eglinton	The Flying Dutchman	Bay Middleton	Herod

APPENDIX P

	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Winner</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
1850	Ld. Zetland	Voltigeur	Voltaire	Eclipse
1851	Sir J. Hawley	Teddington	Orlando	"
1852	Mr. Bowes	Daniel O'Rourke	Birdcatcher	"
1853	"	West Australian	Melbourne	Matchem
1854	Mr. Gull	Andover	Bay Middleton	Herod
1855	Mr. Popham	Wild Dayrell	Ion	Herod
1856	Admiral Harcourt	Ellington	The Flying Dutchman	"
1857	Mr. W. P'Anson	Blink Bonny	Melbourne	Matchem
1858	Sir J. Hawley	Beadsman	Weatherbit	Eclipse
1859	"	Musjid	Newminster	"
1860	Mr. Merry	Thormanby	Melbourne or Windhound	Herod
1861	Col. Towneley	Kettledrum	Rataplan	Eclipse
1862	Mr. C. Snewing	Caractacus	Kingston	Herod
1863	Mr. R. C. Naylor	Macaroni	Sweetmeat	"
1864	Mr. W. P'Anson	Blair Athol	Stockwell	Eclipse
1865	Count de Lagrange	Gladiateur	Monarque	"
1866	Mr. Sutton	Lord Lyon	Stockwell	"
1867	Mr. H. Chaplin	Hermit	Newminster	"
1868	Sir J. Hawley	Blue Gown	Beadsman	"
1869	Mr. J. Johnstone	Pretender	Adventurer	"
1870	Lord Falmouth	Kingcraft	King Tom	"
1871	Baron Rothschild	Favonius	Parmesan	Herod
1872	Mr. H. Savile	Cremorne	Parmesan	"
1873	Mr. Merry	Doncaster	Stockwell	Eclipse
1874	Mr. Cartwright	George Frederick	Marsyas	"
1875	Prince Batthyany	Galopin	Vedette	"
1876	Mr. A. Baltazzi	Kisber	Buccaneer	Herod
1877	Lord Falmouth	Silvio	Blair Athol	Eclipse
1878	Mr. Crawford	Sefton	Speculum	"
1879	Mr. Acton	Sir Bevys	Favonius	Herod
1880	D. of Westminster	Bend Or	Doncaster	Eclipse
1881	Mr. Lorillard	Iroquois	Leamington	"
1882	D. of Westminster	Shotover	Hermit	"
1883	Sir F. Johnstone	St. Blaise	Hermit	Eclipse
1884	{ Mr. J. Hammond	St. Gatien	Rotherhill or The Rover	"
	{ Sir J. Willoughby	Harvester	Sterling	"
1885	Ld. Hastings	Melton	Master Kildare	"
1886	D. of Westminster	Ormonde	Bend Or	"
1887	Mr. Abington	Merry Hampton	Hampton	"
1888	D. of Portland	Ayrshire	"	"
1889	" "	Donovan	Galopin	"
1890	Sir J. Miller	Sainfoin	Springfield	"

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Winner</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
1891	Sir F. Johnstone	Common	Isonomy	Eclipse
1892	Ld. Bradford	Sir Hugo	Wisdom	"
1893	Col. H. McCalmont	Isinglass	Isonomy	"
1894	Ld. Rosebery	Ladas	Hampton	"
1895	" "	Sir Visto	Barcaldine	Matchem
1896	H.R.H. the Prince of Wales	Persimmon	St. Simon	Eclipse
1897	Mr. J. Gubbins	Galtee More	Kendal	"
1898	Mr. J. W. Larnach	Jeddah	Janissary	"
1899	D. of Westminster	Flying Fox	Orme	"
1900	H.R.H. the Prince of Wales	Diamond Jubilee	St. Simon	"
1901	Mr. W. C. Whitney	Volodyovski	Florizel II.	"
1902	Mr. J. Gubbins	Ard Patrick	St. Florian	"
1903	Sir J. Miller	Rock Sand	Sainfoin	"
1904	Mr. Leopold de Rothschild	St. Amant	St. Frusquin	"
1905	Ld. Rosebery	Cicero	Cyllene	"
1906	Major Loder	Spearmint	Carbine	"

APPENDIX Q

RUNNERS FOR THE DERBY, 1906 TRACED TO ECLIPSE, ETC.

<i>Owner</i>	<i>Horse</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
Major Loder	Spearmint (1)	Carbine	Eclipse
Mr. J. L. Dugdale	Picton (2)	Orvieto	"
D. of Westminster	Troutbeck (3)	Ladas	"
Mr. L. de Rothschild	Radium (4)	Bend Or	"
H.M. the King	Nulli Secundus	St. Simon	"
Mr. J. A. de Rothschild	Beppo	Marco	Matchem
Mr. Hall Walker	Black Arrow	Count Schomberg	Eclipse
Mr. R. Dalgleish	Buckminster	Isinglass	"
Mr. Reid Walker	Dingwall	Dinna Forget	Herod
Sir G. Farrar	Frustrator	St. Frusquin	Eclipse
Mr. A. James	Gorgos	Ladas	"
Ld. Howard de Walden	His Eminence	Royal Hampton	"
Mr. W. B. Purefoy	Lally	Amphion	"
Mr. E. L. Heinemann	Malua	Marco	Matchem
Mr. Fairie	Plum Tree	Persimmon	Eclipse
Mr. J. B. Joel	Prince William	Bill of Portland	"
Mr. L. de Rothschild	Minos	St. Frusquin	"
Mr. W. Bass	Sancy	Diamond Jubilee	"
Mr. E. A. Wigan	Sarcelle	Gallinule	"
Mr. R. de Monbel	Storm	Ermak	"
Mr. G. Bird	colt by Teufel— Slipaway	Teufel	Herod
Col. Kirkwood	The White Knight	Desmond	Eclipse
Lord Derby	Keystone II. (1)	Persimmon	"
Mr. W. Bass	Gold Rioch (2)	Bend Or	"
Miss Clinton	Snow Glory (3)	Ayrshire	"
D. of Portland	Quair (4)	Orme	"
Mr. D. W. Clarke	Sweet Mary	Cyllene	"
Mr. F. S. Watt	Provence	Le Var	"

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

<i>Owner</i>	<i>Horse</i>	<i>Sire</i>	<i>Tracing in Male Line to</i>
Mr. Fairie	Showers Bath	Isinglass	Eclipse
Mr. J. B. Joel	Waterflower	Watercress	"
Mr. S. B. Joel	Portland Lass	Bill of Portland	"
Lord Derby	Victorious	Florizel II.	"
Mr. Reid Walker	Isleta	Isinglass	"
Sir F. Johnstone	Shimose	Simontault	"

APPENDIX R

A CONTEMPORARY ADVERTISEMENT OF *ECLIPSE* AT THE STUD

ECLIPSE

was got by Mask and bred by his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland at Cranbourn Lodge and was sold when a foal for £45 and afterwards proved to be the best horse in the Kingdom he won the following Prizes at the undermentioned places in the years 1769 and 1770 (viz.) :

1769

At EPSOM

He won 50 guineas against
Mr. Fortescue's bay Horse Gower
Mr. Castle's bay Horse Chance
Mr. Fenning's chestnut Horse Tryal
Mr. Quick's brown Horse Plume

At ASCOT

He won 50 guineas against
Mr. Fettyplace's bay Horse Cream de
Barble

At WINCHESTER

He won 100 guineas against
Mr. Turner's bay Horse Slouch
Duke of Grafton's grey Horse Chigger
Mr. Gott's bay Horse Juba
Mr. Bailey's bay Horse Caliban
He also walked over the Course for 50
guineas

At SALISBURY

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas
Also won 30 guineas (the Bowl) against
Mr. Fettyplace's grey Horse Sulphur
Mr. Taylor's bay Horse 6 years old

At CANTERBURY

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas

At LEWES

He won 100 guineas against
Mr. Stroud's bay Horse Kingston

At LITCHFIELD

He won 100 guineas against
Mr. Freetier's bay Horse Tardy

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

1770

At NEWMARKET

He won 400 guineas against
Mr. Fenwick's Diana
Mr. Stroud's bay Horse Pensioner
Duke of Grafton's grey Horse Chigger
At the same place he won 150 guineas
against
Sir Charles Bunbury's Corsican
Also at the same place walked over the
Course two different times for 100
guineas each

At NOTTINGHAM

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas

He won on the whole 2149 guineas, and was never beat. He has since been kept
as a stallion, no horse being able to run against him—is now the Property
of Col. O'Kelly of Epsom in Surrey.

At YORK

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas
At the same place he won 319 guineas
against
Mr. Wentworth's Tortoise
Sir Charles Bunbury's Bellario

At LINCOLN

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas

At GUILDFORD

He walked over the Course for 100
guineas

[Copied from the original Broadsheet in the possession of H. R. H. Prince
Christian of Schleswig-Holstein at Cumberland Lodge.]

APPENDIX S

THE FIGURE SYSTEM

I HAVE been asked to add my opinion on the theory introduced by Messrs. Bruce Lowe and William Allison, called "the Figure System," to which allusion has been made here and there in previous pages of this book. In my "History of the English Turf" (*Virtue & Co.*), I have already said all that seemed necessary on the subject, and I can summarise here what was stated at length in that book: Vol. i. pp. 153-158. Vol. ii. pp. 284, 433-439. Vol. iii. 650-653.

Sceptre's pedigree was interesting when she first began winning races, not only because her sire *Persimmon* was a direct descendant of *Eclipse* through *Galopin* and *Voltigeur*, but also because *St. Simon's* son had been mated to a daughter of *Bend Or*, the grandson of *Stockwell*. But the school which believed in Messrs. Bruce Lowe and William Allison preferred to point out that, through *Ornament*, *Sceptre* went back to *Lily Agnes* and finally to a "taproot" (or "original mare") which had not produced a classic winner in the female line before *St. Gatien*. Indeed, if the advice of this school had been followed, the mating which produced *Sceptre*, *Ormonde*, *Barcaldine*, *St. Gatien*, and *Isonomy* (to name no more) would never have taken place, because these animals according to the "Figure System" belong to "Outside Families." According to this system, breeding should be limited to the descendants of a few original mares, and even if we grant that *Ormonde*, *Sceptre* and others were "exceptions," this principle of limitation seems to me wholly contrary to every experience of breeding and biology.

If Messrs. Lowe and Allison are correct, their explanation to-day of the excellence of certain families must hold good as to the excellence of these same families fifty or a hundred years ago. But who can prove to me that the Duke of Grafton, Lord Jersey, or Lord Egremont (to quote names mentioned by Mr. Lowe) thought about "taproots," ever considered the first dam without considering the others, or ever paid more attention to female descent than to lineage in tail-male. The only thing in breeding which is uniformly supported

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

by the numerous and intricate facts of modern pedigrees is the predominance of *Eclipse* blood. Pedigrees are, however, so complicated nowadays that it is possible to prove almost anything you please out of them—to your own satisfaction, at any rate. Yet in such a pedigree as that of *Minting*, why are we to concentrate all the virtues of his high descent on his first dam? Or, in the much simpler pedigree of *Whalebone*, why are we to neglect the *Eclipse* descent of *Waxy*, and the *Herod* and *Snap* blood in *Penelope*, only to concentrate our attention on one particular matron who (in *Whalebone's* case) is to be picked out of ten Royal mares, six unknown mares, Tregonwell's Natural Barb mare (4 strains), Layton Barb mare (4 strains), Old Vintner's mare (3 strains), Byerly Turk Bustler mare, Thwaites Dun mare, Old Woodcock, Old Pied mare, a Godolphin mare? Are we really to believe that the Duke of Grafton carefully considered the possibilities of all these mares, and picked out Tregonwell's Natural Barb mare, because her blood had proved successful in *Goldfinder*, *Woodpecker*, *Rhadamanthus*, *Daedalus*, *Waxy Pope*, and *Scud*? Or did His Grace just send *Matchem's* great grand-daughter to *Eclipse's* grandson? Did not these two great names have more influence on him than anything connected with Tregonwell's Natural Barb mare in the hundred years since her death? If the Duke was already aware of many other causes operating on breeding, consider how much more complicated those causes would have become by the time that such other descendants of hers in the female line had come into existence, as *Ladas*, *Canterbury Pilgrim*, or *Chelandry*.

Take another famous modern instance: *Persimmon*. He can be traced to thirty-two original mares, the Burton Barb mare (twelve strains), Royal Mares (seven), Tregonwell's Natural Barb Mare (four strains), and Byerly Turk Bustler Mare (two strains), with others. Yet, says Mr. Allison, his excellence is due to none of these, but to D'Arcy's Blacklegged Royal Mare, because, though he inherits only one strain of her, she is his first dam, or "taproot." On Mr. Allison's own showing, the value of these original matrons may be expressed as the Burton Barb Mare, second; and Tregonwell's Natural Barb Mare, first; yet he asks us to believe that *Persimmon* is what he is because of the D'Arcy Blacklegged Royal Mare whom they place seventh on their list. As a matter of fact, Mr. Allison asks a good deal more; for he asserts that, in the case of *Persimmon* one strain of a mare placed seventh on his list is better than twelve strains of a mare placed second, and than four strains of a mare placed first. Nor do the unlikely complications stop even here; for animals so differently bred as *West Australian*, *Donovan*, and *Flying Fox* can also be traced back to the same taproot as *Persimmon*; he is therefore bound to admit that the influence of the magic Blacklegged Mare is as great on the line from *Blacklock* through *Voltigeur* to *St. Simon*, as it is on the line from *Comus* through *Humphry Clinker* to *Melbourne*; and to this same amazing matron he must ascribe more influence in the breeding of *Perdita II.* than he can award to *Touchstone*, *Newminster*, *Lord Clifden*, or *Hampton*. Surely this is an exaggerated deference to sex, and a most unscientific disregard for the lapse of time, apart from other considerations.

Mr. Allison's first few matrons, in the order of the merit he assigns to them, have been already mentioned. It is curious that to find *Eclipse's* handsomest and best son, *Pot8os*, we have to go down that list, past the 20th, past the 30th, to No. 38, Thwaites's Dun Mare, the "taproot" of the best horse of the eighteenth century—if not the best, at any rate better than *Goldfinder* or *Woodpecker*

APPENDIX S

(traced back to a matron 37 places higher, first on the list); better than *Phenomenon* (36 places ahead); than *Paymaster* and *Justice* (35 places); than *Wildair*, *Sweet William* or *Plunder* (34), than *Trentham* or *Florizel* (33). Now if we admit Mr. Allison's contention that the influence of the original mare, the first dam, the "taproot," is greater than anything else, there will certainly be a greater chance of seeing that influence when her blood was purer than it could be nowadays, when so many other complicating influences have been at work. It is clear, in fact, that if the excellence of a modern racer can be traced to a "taproot," the excellence of a horse of a hundred years ago could be much more easily so traced. If, therefore, we are to ascribe the excellence of *PotSos* to Thwaites's Dun Mare, we shall legitimately expect many other good sires and winners to be equally descended from her. But there is one winner of the Derby (*Sir Thomas*, 1788) to her name, and one only; and no more sires at all. Even if we grant Mr. Allison his gallant predisposition for the influence of mares, it is going rather far to ascribe to a far-off "taproot" the excellence of a family containing such matrons as *Promise*, *Prunella*, *Penelope*, or *Queen Bertha*; to subordinate the claims of *Crucifix*, *Hermione*, or *Martha Lynn* to those of the Burton Barb mare; to trace the quality of *Stockwell* or *King Tom* rather to the dam of the two True Blues than to *Pocahontas*. It will be seen, in fact that we are asked by Mr. Allison, first to admit the vast assumption that female influence in breeding is greater than male influence, and secondly to admit the still vaguer hypothesis that certain taproots in the early eighteenth century represent a more valuable female strain than any mare whose name occurs in subsequent crosses of the pedigree. This is asking too much. The doctrine of restriction to a few mares (operating in conjunction with the invariable drawbacks of "fashionable sires") is to my mind the final objection to a theory which tries to reduce Nature to Mathematics, and will never succeed in doing so.

The famous order of merit in which Messrs. Lowe and Allison first produced their list of "taproot" mares was merely the accidental result of the mathematical calculations they selected being applied in a certain year. That result would have been different a hundred years before. It is constantly being altered by every racing season that followed its publication. By 1903, the "first" family had become fourth, the "sixteenth" had gone up fifth, the "third" had dropped to seventh, and so on. The "fourth" had risen to the first because *Rock Sand* had won £22,633; but Mr. Allison traced its success to the Layton Barb Mare. He did not, however, explain how the matron who appeared as sixth in his original order of merit, had totally disappeared from the first twenty in a list compiled according to money won in the classical races of 1903 and in others chosen by himself. On the other hand it seems curious that a family he originally valued as sixteenth should, owing to *Sceptre*, rise to be fifth; or that a family he originally placed fourteenth should, owing to *Pretty Polly*, prove itself sixth in 1903.

If we consider the number of mares in the General Stud Book, it seems clear that his "Number Two," with nearly 200 more mares to represent it, will by that very fact of numerical superiority obtain an immediate explanation of its having risen two places higher than his "Number One" family, at the end of the year just quoted. You cannot apply Mathematics to Nature. If you appear to succeed in one year, you break down the next. The extraordinary

ECLIPSE AND O'KELLY

collection of statistics published by Mr. Allison in 1901 can never be the breeder's gospel of salvation which Mr. Bruce Lowe thought he had discovered. It may be a monumental record of the facts of racing up to the dawn of the twentieth century, and as such it will always retain my admiration and esteem. But it is more nearly related to the past than to the future. It is more useful as a record of certain relationships and descents than as a guide to fresh alliances.

Those who have read this history of *Eclipse* with understanding will be more inclined to find their guide for the future in the fact that the only stallions in Weatherby's first Stud Book now represented in tail-male on the English Turf (1906) are *Matchem*, *Herod*, and *Eclipse*; that *Eclipse* enormously predominates over the first two; and that in *Eclipse's* strains those of *Birdcatcher*, *Blacklock*, and *Touchstone*, are in their turn considerably predominant over all the others. These results are not mathematical calculations. They have been produced by the slow survival of the fittest in the course of nature during the last hundred and fifty years of English Racing.

Since Messrs. Bruce Lowe and William Allison produced their theory, Natural Science has made many notable advances. In the "British Medical Journal" for December 22, 1906, may be studied a remarkable paper on "The Physiology and Pathology of the Nucleus," which of course I can only summarise in the briefest manner here; but I quote it as a complete contradiction of the theory that the dam (or for that matter the sire either) can exercise any preponderating influence upon the characteristic excellence or personality of her foal. The properties which distinguish the individuals of any race or family from the individual of any other race or family are to be traced back to the constitution of a single cell, the fertilised ovum from which that individual has been developed; and the nuclear composition which dominates the morphology of the individual cell dominates likewise the properties of the individual. Dr. J. George Adami, Professor of Pathology at McGill University, Montreal, has shown in the paper to which I have referred that, according to the latest investigations of modern science, this nuclear matter is contributed, to an equal and corresponding extent, by both parents; and throughout the development and re-division of the fertilised ovum this equal process of contribution from each of the two parents is continued.

APPENDIX S

Whatever else may be involved in this discovery, it is at all events clear, for our present purpose, that a horsebreeder who depended solely on the sire's blood would be as unlikely to achieve success as one who rested all his hopes upon the potency of a particular dam's family. A blend is essential; but Dr. Adami can only help the breeder so far as to assure him that both sire and dam have an equal share in the result.

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